

STUDIES IN ARABIC LITERARY PAPYRI

by

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A thesis submitted to the faculty of  
The University of Utah  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of History

The University of Utah

August 2008

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## ABSTRACT

The thesis addresses the historiographical and methodological impasse in Arabic manuscript research. The first part of the thesis examines the authenticity debate in historical circles between the descriptivist and revisionist schools, followed by an analysis of the methodological problems faced in the criticism of prophetic *logia* (*ḥadīth*). In light of these considerations, the codicological approach is advanced as an alternate conceptual schema. Subsequently, a case study of Ms Or.P443 is provided to demonstrate the efficacy of the proposed method.

The second part of the thesis provides the editions, translations, commentaries, and significance of six Arabic literary papyri from the Aziz S. Atiya Papyri and Paper Collection at the University of Utah. The six Arabic literary papyri comprise materials from both *ḥadīth* and Islamic moral law (*fiqh*). The papyri include Ms Or.P173, P205, P365, P443, P518, and P521. These specific papyri address a variety of issues relating to the development of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*. The publication of these papyri will prove to be a substantial contribution to the understanding of the evolution of these traditions.

No-one is able to attain the truth adequately, while, on the other hand, we do not collectively fail, but everyone says something true about the nature of things, and while individually we contribute little or nothing to the truth, by the union of all a considerable amount is amassed...

We must first consider what is said by others, so that, if there is anything which they say wrongly, we may not be liable to the same objections, while, if there is any opinion common to them and us, we shall have no private grievance against ourselves on that account, for one must be content to state some points better than one's predecessors and others no worse.

Aristotle

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## SYMBOLS

### General Symbols

R	Recto
V	Verso
rS	Right Side
lS	Left Side
A	Written First
B	Written Subsequently

### Edited Text Symbols

[...]	Lacuna in the text.
( )	Uncertain reading; text appears between brackets.
< >	Postulated reconstruction of text.
\ \	Gloss in translation.
« »	Text crossed or blotted out by copyist.
<...>	Erasure.
{ }	Dittograph.
˘	Superscript.
˘	Subscript.
---	Illegible script; each dash represents one letter space.
[ ]	Marginalia.
×	Break with following fragment; uncertain whether the two fragments are contiguous.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis represents the culmination of the collective efforts of many scholars. First and foremost, I would like to thank Mark Muehlhaeusler, Middle East Collection Specialist at the Aziz S. Atiya Middle East Library, without whose expertise, assistance, and encouragement the fruition of this project would not have been feasible.

Significant contributions were made by the following scholars: Hanan Ahmad, whose critical eye and patience were indispensable in finalizing the translations of the papyri; Bernard G. Weiss, under whose guidance the theoretical and methodological section was completed; Petra Sijpesteijn, who generously lent her expertise in Arabic papyrology and whose critical, meticulous, and erudite comments have without doubt ameliorated the quality of the thesis; Luise Poulton, Associate Curator of Rare Books at the J. Willard Marriott Library, who provided unlimited access to the Papyri Collection and enthusiastically supported every effort to study the documents; Leonard Chiarelli, Middle East Librarian at the J. Willard Marriott Library, whose untiring commitment to making any and every bibliographic resource available advanced the research considerably; and Peter Sluglett, who masterfully oversaw the completion of the thesis.

I owe special gratitude to Professor Edward J. Davies II, who facilitated an environment of intellectual freedom conducive to academic growth. Lastly, I would like to thank the Editor. It goes without saying that I alone am responsible for what is published here.

## INTRODUCTION

### Historiographical Problem: The Authenticity Debate

Contemporary Arabic manuscript research is at a critical impasse. The history of the genesis and growth of Islam in the first half of the seventh century is written from sources composed a tercentennial after the fact. The monumental histories of Abū Ja‘far al-Fabarī (c.838-923 C.E./c.223-310 A.H.) and al-Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī al-Mas‘ūdī (c.896-956 C.E./c.282-344 A.H.) that chronicle the formative period of Islamic history politically, as well as militarily, religiously, culturally, and linguistically, emerge as full fledged cohesive narratives set within a firm theological framework. Although the value of these historians is not to be underestimated, the documentary lacunae have given rise to an historiographical debate that has bifurcated the discipline into two opposing camps – descriptivists and revisionists.<sup>1</sup>

The descriptivists, with limited reservations, accept the narrative structure of Islamic history delineated by Arab historians. On the other hand, the revisionist school maintains that the historical reconstruction of the first sesquicentennial of Islamic history is not possible given the nature of the available source materials. Accordingly, the revisionists jettison in large part the literary sources of the Arab historians on the grounds

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<sup>1</sup> The conventional nomenclature utilizes the terms traditionalists and skeptics. The terminology employed here is adopted from P.F. Strawson’s *Individuals: An Essay in Descriptive Metaphysics* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd., 1959), 9-12. For Fred M. Donner’s classification schema, cf. Irving M. Zeitlin, *The Historical Muhammad* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007), 6-8.

that these works constitute theology, not history. Although a methodological middle ground has been sought by certain scholars, the critical tone set by Patricia Crone and Michael Cook in their 1977 publication of *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* still prevails.<sup>2</sup>

In response to the historiographical problems posed by the authenticity debate, there emerged a number of scholars calling for a return to the manuscript tradition. The most noteworthy proponent was Nabia Abbott and her monumental *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*.<sup>3</sup> The conclusions drawn by Abbott, namely that the manuscript tradition corroborated the traditional narrative, further precipitated the ongoing debate. The crux of the problem consequently shifted to the question of chronology and the dates ascribed to the manuscripts by Abbott.

Palæography is the predominant method for dating manuscripts at present. This method was pioneered by Jacob Christian Lindberg and Johann Heinrich Möller in the early nineteenth century. Although the method has since undergone further development, it is nonetheless laden with problems. For example, B. Moritz suggested the dates of 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries respectively for three Qur'ān specimens from the Egyptian National Library.<sup>4</sup> These assertions were rejected by J. v. Karabacek who asseverated that the dates of 9<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries respectively were more probable.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, M. Minovi in his "Outline History of Arabic Writing" claimed that the extant Qur'ān manuscripts were "*all either forgeries or suspect.*"<sup>6</sup> The problematics of palæographic

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<sup>2</sup> Patricia Crone and Michael Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

<sup>3</sup> Nabia Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1957).

<sup>4</sup> Adolf Grohmann, "The Problem of Dating Early Qur'āns," *Der Islam* 33 (1958): 215.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 217.

dating were recognized by Gotthelf Bergsträsser, who in his erudite 1919 publication on Qur'ānic palaeography proffered only relative dates, e.g., oldest, most archaic, etc. As illustrated, palaeography is an inexact method, to say the least.<sup>7</sup>

The consequences of the inadequacy of dating on palaeographic grounds have resounded throughout the field of Arabic manuscript research and have compounded and intensified existing problems therein. In the study of Islamic legal history, the lack of a stable chronology has resulted in contradictory assertions as to the development of law. According to Ignaz Goldziher, the origin of *ḥadīth* is traditionally attributed to the Caliph 'Umar II and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī (d. c.804 C.E./189 A.H.).<sup>8</sup> The traditional account was not accepted by Goldziher, rather Goldziher argued that "[l]egal literature proper, which represents the result of comprehensive thinking, is chronologically prior to the literature of the *ḥadīth*."<sup>9</sup> Goldziher maintained that *ḥadīth* type literature was collected for practical legal purposes and organized into legal chapters prior to the emergence of the science of *ḥadīth*.<sup>10</sup> The height of this legal *ḥadīth* genre is represented by the extant *Muwatta'* of Mālik b. Anas (c.715-796 C.E./96-179 A.H.).<sup>11</sup> Therefore, Goldziher, and later Joseph Schacht, maintained that Islamic law (*fiqh*) developed *prior* to one of the traditionally held foundational sources of law, that is, prophetic *logia* (*ḥadīth*). This problem of Islamic legal history in conjunction with similar inquiries into the origins of the Qur'ān, Islamic rituals, and Islamic institutions have coalesced into what is known as the authenticity debate.

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 215-216.

<sup>8</sup> Ignaz Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, vol. 2, ed. S.M. Stern, trans. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1968), 195-196.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 193.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 197.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

### Methodological Problem: *Hadīth* Criticism

Albrecht Noth has argued that *ḥadīth* criticism to date has been conducted on one of two diametrically opposed fronts, that of the *‘ilm al-ḥadīth* as differentiated from the Orientalist tradition.<sup>12</sup> The former school of thought is represented by the Hanbalī scholar Abū l-Faraj b. al-Jawzī (c.1126-1200 C.E./c.519-596 A.H.) who authored the *Kitāb al-Mawḏū‘āt* that categorized *ḥadīth* forgers and was profoundly influential on succeeding generations of scholars. The latter Orientalist mode of *ḥadīth* criticism was promulgated by Goldziher whose second volume of *Muhammedanische Studien* has definitively shaped the academic view on *ḥadīth* since its publication in 1888 C.E.

As Noth maintains, the reason for the disparity between the two schools of thought resides in the fact that “...the burden of proof in the case of *ḥadīth* forgery is distributed differently.”<sup>13</sup> The traditional school of *ḥadīth* criticism of the *‘ilm al-ḥadīth* is based on the assumption that there indeed exist forged *ḥadīths* although few in number compared to the authentic extant *ḥadīths*. The *discrimen veri ac falsi* advanced by Noth, as utilized by the *‘ilm al-ḥadīth*, assumes that the burden of proof lies not in proving the veracity of the *ḥadīth*;<sup>14</sup> rather, the obligation of proof is shifted to the demonstration of the inauthentic nature of a given *ḥadīth* through the analysis of *isnāds*, i.e., the chain of transmitters. The Orientalist school, on the other hand, operates on the assumption that the *ḥadīth* corpus is rife with forgery. Thus, the burden of proof lies in demonstrating the

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<sup>12</sup> Albrecht Noth, “Common Features of Muslim and Western *Ḥadīth* Criticism: Ibn al-Jawzī’s Categories of *Ḥadīth* Forgers,” in *Ḥadīth*, ed. Harald Motzki (Burlington: Ashgate/Variorum, 2004), 309-316. The term “Orientalist” represents Noth’s word choice, and has been maintained as such.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 310.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.



authenticity of a given *ḥadīth*, based primarily on the analysis of the *matn*, i.e., the narrative content of the *ḥadīth* itself.

Irrespective of how the nature of *ḥadīth* is perceived, as either inherently fabricated or authentic, Noth observes that the *major raison d'être* of both schools of *ḥadīth* criticism is *ḥadīth* forgery itself.<sup>15</sup> The formal criteria for the detection of fabrication are essentially identical. Although the two modes of *ḥadīth* criticism are antipodal as to their assumptions, and to a certain degree in their point of departure, i.e., emphasis on either *isnād* or *matn*, they are both, nonetheless, foundationally epistemic approaches to *ḥadīth* criticism.<sup>16</sup>

The epistemic-based approach, in the form of historical authentication, is primarily concerned with the truth-value of *ḥadīth* as prophetic documents.<sup>17</sup> Authenticity is in fact concerned with three separate issues: (i) veracity, (ii) origin, and (iii) evidence. The epistemic approach largely addresses veracity and origin to the extent that it reflects the Herderian premise that “in the origin of a phenomenon there lies all the

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 309.

<sup>16</sup> Epistemic criticism and the origins thereof are not a modern, Orientalist phenomenon. This mode of *ḥadīth* criticism emerged with the classical debate between the *Ahl al-Ra'y* and the *Ahl al-Ḥadīth*, also known as the *Aṣḥāb al-Ḥadīth*. “The *ahl al-ra'y* and the *ahl al-kalām* found themselves extremely vulnerable to the attacks of the adherents of *ḥadīth*. They could not reject the authority of the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet outright, if for no other reason than that these reports had long held a place in their own doctrines. The problem for them was to keep their own *ḥadīth* while rejecting those that contradicted their doctrines. The stance they did adopt was one of skepticism in the authentication of *ḥadīth*. In other words, they represented themselves as not rejecting the words of the Prophet, but rather doubting whether most *ḥadīth* in fact accurately represented his words. On the one hand, they refused to accept any *ḥadīth* that was not *mutawātir*, that is transmitted in each era after the Prophet by a number of transmitters so large as to exclude the possibility of a conspiracy. On the other hand, the Kūfans also rejected those *ḥadīth* which did not meet various internal criteria they stipulated. Throughout the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, we find the Kūfans fighting a rearguard action against the thesis of the adherents of *ḥadīth* while simultaneously trying to accommodate it into their own teachings” (Eerik Dickinson, *The Development of Early Sunnite Ḥadīth Criticism: The Taqdīm of Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī (240/854-327/938)* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 4-5).

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., vii.

treasure of its interpretation.”<sup>18</sup> In terms of evidence, in the case of the *‘ilm al-ḥadīth* and *isnād* criticism, the emphasis is on testimonial and biographical evidence and to a limited extent documentary evidence, in so far as they investigate the chain of transmission (*isnād*) of a given *ḥadīth*.<sup>19</sup> The Orientalist circle is akin to that of the *‘ilm al-ḥadīth* with respect to veracity and origin. As for evidence, although the Orientalist school analyzes what is ostensibly documentary evidence in the form of *matn*, it nonetheless, as a form of epistemic criticism, treats *ḥadīth* in isolate, that is, codified form. In other words, it is *ḥadīth* solely as *artifact* that drives Orientalist research.

Furthermore, since the Orientalist school commences with the *artifact* and proceeds to determine the milieu in which it was composed, and vice versa, that is, it starts from the milieu in order to ascertain how the milieu affected the text, it is largely an extra-documentary approach. This gives rise to a central problem in the Orientalist mode of criticism. Eerik Dickinson notes that “[s]ince the time of Goldziher, scholars have examined different source material and drawn different conclusions about the authenticity of *ḥadīth* as Prophetic documents.”<sup>20</sup> Moreover, Gautier H.A. Juynboll proposes that the most efficacious tool of the Orientalist critic in the quest for the authentic is “a keen sense for what seems true and what false.”<sup>21</sup> Therefore, Orientalist criticism devolves into historical intuition, not historical method – a criticism that echoes the sentiments of

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<sup>18</sup> Frederick C. Beiser, *The Fate of Reason: German Philosophy from Kant to Fichte* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 142. This tenet was predominant in the work of Ignaz Goldziher, the father of modern day Orientalist *ḥadīth* criticism. Goldziher’s concern with origins duly reflects the influence of the eighteenth century German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder and his genetic-historical method in the field of classical philology to which Goldziher was exposed (cf. Karim Samji, “The History of the Philological Method of Ignaz Goldziher” (Unpublished Graduate Seminar Research Paper, University of Utah, 2007)).

<sup>19</sup> The classification of evidence into three groups, i.e., (i) testimonial, (ii) biographical, and (iii) documentary, follows the schema advanced by Eerik Dickinson in *The Development of Early Sunnite Ḥadīth Criticism* (Op cit.).

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., vii. Emphasis added.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., ix.

Joseph Schacht and Carl Heinrich Becker. Schacht stated that “[h]istorical intuition, as it was sometimes called, began to take the place of sound criticism.”<sup>22</sup> This is the criticism that is leveled by Becker on Henri Lammens’ *Fatima*, where he characterizes Lammens’ methods as “der historische Instinkt” and “das historische Gefühl.”<sup>23</sup>

### Alternate Conceptual Schema: The Codicological Method

The codicological approach, in the broadest sense of the term, constitutes an alternate conceptual schema to epistemic criticism. The codicological approach is a strictly documentary-based approach that is not concerned with the truth-value of the *ḥadīth*, nor is it restricted to questions of origins. Rather, utilizing a diachronic framework, it seeks to analyze the *ḥadīth* solely as historical texts, i.e., *ḥadīth* as *artifact* and *process* in time perspective. It is concerned with change in texts and the means of change over time.

In contradistinction to the epistemic approach, the codicological approach does not seek a method to distinguish and separate authentic from inauthentic *ḥadīth*,<sup>24</sup> nor to recover an original substratum.<sup>25</sup> It considers *ḥadīth in situ*, that is, in the immediate context in which it is found. Thereafter, through the comparative method, it juxtaposes different layers of strata and from internal evidence attempts to reconstruct the means by

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<sup>22</sup> Joseph Schacht, “A Reevaluation of Islamic Traditions,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1949): 143.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, fn. 3.

<sup>24</sup> Juynboll is skeptical whether any method can be devised to facilitate the retrieval or discrimination of authentic from inauthentic *ḥadīth*. He states: “Surely it is unlikely that we will ever find even a moderately successful method of proving with incontrovertible certainty the historicity of the ascription of such to the prophet but in a few isolated instances” (Dickinson, ix). Joseph Schacht goes so far as to even doubt the existence of any such authentic core (*Ibid.*).

<sup>25</sup> One notable attempt to recover an original substratum is Harald Motzki, “The *Muṣannaf* of ‘Abd al-Razzāq al-Ṣan‘ānī as a Source of Authentic *ahādīth* of the First Century A.H.,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 50 (1991): 1-21.

which an earlier stratum of *ḥadīth* develops so as to take a particular shape and configuration in a later stratum. As opposed to the epistemic approach, the codicological approach commences and concludes with the *artifact*, revealing the *process* therein.

### Codicological Study of Ms Or.P443: *Ḥadīth* and History

In order to demonstrate the efficacy of the codicological approach, the following case study will examine the relationship between early *ḥadīth* criticism and early Islamic historiography. The case study will analyze one of the papyri in the present group, namely, Ms Or.P443, so as to compare the critical procedures (e.g., redaction techniques) employed in *ḥadīth* criticism and historiography vis-à-vis documentary evidence.

It has been remarked that “...discussions of the Quran cannot be easily separated from questions about the authenticity of *ḥadīths* and *sīra*.”<sup>26</sup> To the extent that *sīra* is representative of the *tār’ikh* genre, this assertion is equally valid in the case of *ḥadīth* and history – they too are inextricably intertwined. The absence of biographical literature (*ṭabaqāt*) on historians is a significant clue in determining the relationship of *ḥadīth* and history in the incubation phase of early Islamic scholarship. Ella Landau-Tasseron observes:

What is puzzling is the fact that historiographic source-criticism did not develop as an independent discipline alongside *Ḥadīth*-criticism...For all their interest in source-criticism the Muslim scholars focused on *ḥadīth*, and as far as they dealt with historians they treated them as *muḥaddithūn* in disguise, and did not try to evaluate them for what they were.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Herbert Berg, review of *The Origins of the Koran: Classic Essays on Islam’s Holy Book* edited by Ibn Warraq, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 62:3 (1999): 558.

<sup>27</sup> Ella Landau-Tasseron, “Sayf Ibn ‘Umar in Medieval and Modern Scholarship,” *Der Islam* 67 (1990): 11.

Landau-Tasseron further remarks that although the *tabaqāt* genre was employed as a form of source criticism, it never developed for historiographers.<sup>28</sup> *Fabaqāt* works on varying classes of persons were composed, ranging from *ḥadīth* transmitters to chess players and poets – but never for historians.<sup>29</sup> Landau-Tasseron states that “[t]his is odd in view of the highly developed historical consciousness of the Muslim community, the relevance of history to its theological and political life, and the extensive historiographical work which it produced.”<sup>30</sup>

Regardless of whether *ḥadīth* and history constituted one amorphous discourse with no clear cut disciplinary boundaries, historians, in effect, were treated as *muhaddithūn*. Therefore, it is reasonable to advance the tentative hypothesis that the methods of historical criticism are in fact the methods of *ḥadīth* criticism. As a corollary to this assertion, it follows that the problems inherited by historical criticism are also those endemic to the field of *ḥadīth* criticism proper.

In 1991, a critical manuscript of the *Kitāb al-Ridda* by Sayf b. ‘Umar al-Tamīmī was discovered by Qāsim al-Sāmarrā’ī in the Library of Imām Muḥammad Ibn Sa‘ūd Islamic University in Riyadh.<sup>31</sup> The significance of this groundbreaking find rests in the fact that al-Tamīmī’s work served as Abū Ja‘far al-Fabarī’s primary source for the accounts of the *Ridda* wars waged in Arabia from roughly 632-634 C.E. As the *Tā’rīkh al-Rusul wa-’l-mulūk* of al-Fabarī represents the maturity of the historical tradition, an

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> cf. Sayf b. ‘Umar al-Tamīmī, *Kitāb al-Riddah wa-al-futūḥ: wa-Kitāb al-Jamal wa-masīr ‘Ā’ishah wa-‘Alī / ta’līf Sayf b. ‘Umar al-Tamīmī al-Ḍabbī al-Asīdī; taḥqīq wa-taqdīm Qāsim al-Sāmarrā’ī*, 2 vols., ed. Qāsim al-Sāmarrā’ī (Leiden: Smitskamp Oriental Antiquarium, 1995).

analysis of al-Fabarī's use of Sayf b. 'Umar al-Tamīmī's extant *Kitāb al-Ridda* may yield insight into the *muḥaddithūn* techniques of handling *ḥadīth* reports.

From a comparison of the narratives related in the *Kitāb al-Ridda* and the *Ta'rīkh* of al-Fabarī, nine operating principles of redaction employed by al-Fabarī have been identified. A given account would be transmitted in the following ways: (i) verbatim, (ii) partly paraphrased, (iii) partly "processed," (iv) with the omission of *isnāds*, (v) as a partial report of a narrative followed by its reproduction *in toto*, (vi) with the omission of reports that shed no new light on the subject matter, (vii) with the interpolation of new information derived from other sources without citation, (viii) as narratives rearranged for a coherent sequence in order to fit the annals schema adopted by means of a "cut and paste" *khavar* method, or (ix) with altered settings and wording of some narratives.<sup>32</sup>

The hitherto unknown or purely hypothesized principles of al-Fabarī's redaction methods provide a powerful means with which to analyze the *Ḥadīth* corpus. It is important to note that the aim of al-Fabarī's methods is postulated to reflect the primary objective of establishing historical writing on the same systematic principles as *ḥadīth* scholarship.<sup>33</sup> Therefore, in light of the derived procedures of redaction gained from the analysis of al-Fabarī's nine operating principles, it is now possible to determine the validity of the theoretical claim that the methods of historical criticism are those of *ḥadīth* criticism.

In order to determine whether any parallels in method exist, *ḥadīth* preserved in the canonical collections of Bukhārī, Ibn Mājah, and Muslim will be compared with an extant *ḥadīth* papyrus fragment (Ms Or.P443), thus providing an evidentiary basis and

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, 14-18.

<sup>33</sup> Fred M. Donner, "Translator's Forward," in *The Conquest of Arabia* (al-Fabarī, *Tā'rīkh al-rusul wa-al-mulūk*), trans. and annotated by Fred M. Donner (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993), xvii.

verification for the initial hypothesis. Ms Or.P443 is of particular significance as the *isnāds* preserve the name of Yūsuf b. ‘Adī, one of Bukhārī’s sources (cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P443). The edited text, translation, and figures of Ms Or.P443 are reproduced in the second part of the thesis, following the proposed analysis.

Ms Or.P443 Recto is tentatively dated to the third/ninth century and is void of diacritical marks. Whereas the Verso is largely undecipherable, the *isnāds* and *matns* of the two *ḥadīths* preserved *in toto* on the Recto have been reconstructed by means of palaeography. The texts of the two *matns* reflect early Islamic prophetic *logia* that closely parallel one another. The *matn* of the first *ḥadīth* (Line 10) reads:

لا (تقبل صدقة من غلول)

“There is no (acceptance of charity from ill-gotten gains).”

The *matn* on Line 16 of the second *ḥadīth* is a reduplication of the first *ḥadīth*. Line 17 provides an extension of the first *ḥadīth* as indicated grammatically by the coordinating conjunction *wāw*. Lines 16 and 17 read:

لا (تقبل) ل صدقة (م) من غلول  
ولا (صلاة من غير طهور)

“There is no (acceptance of charity from) ill-gotten gains  
and no (prayer without ritual cleansing).”

The significance of these two *ḥadīths* rests in the fact that they are preserved in later canonical *ḥadīth* collections. The *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* of Muḥammad b. Ismā‘īl Bukhārī (810-870 C.E./194-256 A.H.) relegates the first *matn* of both *ḥadīths* to a chapter heading followed by a Qur’ānic Verse (2:263). The fully vocalized chapter heading appended

with additional material, constituting a subsection of the Book of Tithing (*Kitāb al-Zakāt*), is accordingly entitled:

بَابُ لَا يَقْبَلُ اللَّهُ صَدَقَةً مِنْ غُلُولٍ، وَلَا إِلَّا مِنْ كَسْبٍ طَيِّبٍ<sup>34</sup>

The second *matn* of the second *ḥadīth* is likewise transformed into a chapter heading, comprising a subsection of the Book of the Minor Ablution (*Kitāb al-Wuḍūʿ*), but in this case is followed by another corroborating *ḥadīth*. It reads:

بَابُ لَا تَقْبَلُ بِغَيْرِ طَهْوَرٍ<sup>35</sup>

A comparison of Ms Or.P443R and the *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* demonstrates the following operations of al-Fabarī's methods in effect. The *ḥadīth* is redacted (i) verbatim, (iv) with the omission of *isnāds*, (vii) with the interpolation of new information derived from other sources without citation (in this case, an appendage), (viii) rearranged for a coherent sequence in order to fit the compilation schema adopted by means of a "cut and paste" *khavar* method (in this case, chapter headings), and (ix) with altered wording of some reports (e.g., the change of prepositions from *بِغَيْرِ* to *مِنْ*).

The *Ṣaḥīḥ Sunan* of Ibn Mājah (824-887 C.E./210-273 A.H.) preserves Lines 16 and 17 of Ms Or.P443R largely *in toto*.<sup>36</sup> The differences being that Lines 16 and 17 are reversed in order; Line 17 is also employed as a chapter heading; and the preposition of Line 16 is reduced from *بِغَيْرِ* to *مِنْ*. A comparison of Ms Or.P443R and the *Ṣaḥīḥ Sunan Ibn Mājah* illustrates the following redaction strategies of historiography in effect.

<sup>34</sup> Muhammad b. Ismāʿīl Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dar al-Kotob al-Ilmiyah, 1999), 345. Cf. Muhammad b. Ismāʿīl Bukhārī, *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih al-Bukhari: Arabic-English*, vol. 2, trans. Muhammad Muhsin Khan (Lahore: Kazi Publications, 1983), 280.

<sup>35</sup> Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1, 44. Cf. Bukhārī, *The Translation*, vol. 1, 101.

<sup>36</sup> Ibn Mājah, *Ṣaḥīḥ Sunan Ibn Mājah*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Al-Maktab al-Islāmī, 1986), 50.



The *ḥadīth* is preserved (i) verbatim, (v) as a partial report of a narrative followed by its reproduction *in toto*, (viii) as reports rearranged for a coherent sequence in order to fit the compilation schema adopted by means of a “cut and paste” *khavar* method (in this case, both as a chapter heading and a reversal of line order), and (ix) with altered wording of some reports. In addition, Ibn Mājah utilizes an alteration of strategy iv. Rather than omitting the *isnād*, he uses a truncated *isnād* that does not corroborate with Ms Or.P443R.

The *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (c.821-875 C.E./c.202-261 A.H.) also preserves Lines 16 and 17 of Ms Or.P443R largely *in toto*.<sup>37</sup> In like manner as Ibn Mājah, Muslim reverses the line order of Lines 16 and 17. In lieu of the preposition من غير, Muslim uses بِغَيْرٍ, in accordance with Bukhārī. Furthermore, Muslim appends another line to this *ḥadīth* by means of the coordinating conjunction *wāw*. This latter line translates as follows: “...and thou wert the (governor) of Basra.”<sup>38</sup> This, however, is not preserved in Ms Or.P443R. Unlike Bukhārī and Ibn Mājah, Muslim does not employ the *ḥadīths* as chapter headings. A comparison of Ms Or.P443R and the *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* reveals the following procedures. The *ḥadīth* is redacted (i) verbatim, (vii) with the interpolation of new information derived from other sources without citation (in this case, an appendage), (viii) as reports rearranged for a coherent sequence in order to fit the compilation schema adopted by means of a “cut and paste” *khavar* method (in this case, a reversal of line order), and (ix) with altered wording of some reports. In addition, Muslim, like Ibn Mājah, utilizes an alteration of strategy iv. Rather than omitting the *isnād*, he uses an

<sup>37</sup> Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj, *al-Jāmi‘ al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, vol. 1 (N.p.: n.p., 1911), 140. Cf. Imām Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, vol. 1, trans. ‘Abdul Hamīd Ṣiddīqī (New Delhi: Kitāb Bhavan, 1977), 148-149.

<sup>38</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 149.

alternative *isnād* that at points parallels Ms Or.P443R. Both *isnāds* refer to an ‘Abd Allāh and trace back ultimately to a personage whose name includes Hurayra.

The parallels in method between al-Ṭabarī’s nine operating principles and that of the *muḥaddithūn* are evident from the above comparison of the *ḥadīth* specimen preserved in the canonical collections. Although Ms Or.P443R represents but a fragment of the early *Ḥadīth* corpus, a comparison with the canonical collections has identified the presence of six of the nine redaction procedures of historical criticism, i.e., i, iv, v, vii, viii, and ix. Additionally, it has exposed perhaps a tenth operating principle, that is a variation of iv, namely, the truncation or utilization of an alternate *isnād*. The comparative study of further *ḥadīth* papyri fragments may illustrate the functioning of the remaining three procedures, as well as provide evidence of others. Moreover, these results may clarify the existing nine operations and vice versa. In terms of the scope of this study, these results provide an evidentiary basis and verification for the initial hypothesis that the methods of historical criticism are in fact the methods of *ḥadīth* criticism. Furthermore, they demonstrate the applied value of the proposed codicological approach that commences and concludes with the *artifact*, revealing the *process* therein.

#### The Scope of the Present Study

The above case study has established the effectiveness of the codicological method in clarifying issues of historical import with regard to the nature of the relationship between early *ḥadīth* criticism and early Islamic historiography. The degree of the utility of the codicological method is largely dependent upon the availability of primary source materials to be analyzed. The greater the number of source materials, the

greater precision with which the method can be applied. In turn, the more sound the results of the method.

Given the methodological impasse in Arabic manuscript research and historiography resulting from the late composition of the sources and the authenticity debate, it is astonishing that the availability and accessibility of primary source materials in the form of the thousands of extant Arabic papyri has not taken precedence in the historical discipline.<sup>39</sup> To date, the vast majority of Arabic literary papyri remain untapped, and as such, are unknown to and unaccounted for by historians.<sup>40</sup>

In light of these considerations, the following thesis seeks to make available the editions, translations, commentaries, and significance of six Arabic literary papyri from the Aziz S. Atiya Papyri and Paper Collection at the University of Utah. The Atiya Collection constitutes one of the largest papyri holdings in North America.<sup>41</sup> The collection comprises 770 Arabic papyri, as well as over 1300 Arabic paper documents. The provenance of the Collection is largely Egyptian in origin. Atiya collected the documents over the course of many years through purchases from dealers in Egypt, Beirut, and London, in addition to a selection of items acquired from the University of Chicago.<sup>42</sup> The Atiya Collection is unique not only in its size, but also in its content, as a significant number of the papyri date to the period between the eighth and ninth centuries.

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<sup>39</sup> Robert Hoyland, "New Documentary Texts and the Early Islamic State," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 69:3 (2006): 395.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> For the figures of other comparable collections in North America, cf. Petra Sijpesteijn, "North American Papyrus Collections Revisited," *Bardīyyāt* 1 (2003): 11-19.

<sup>42</sup> For Atiya's account of the collection and its preservation, cf. "Aziz S. Atiya. Interview," *Everett L. Cooley Oral History Project*, nos. 328 and 329, ed. Everett L. Cooley (Salt Lake City: Marriott Library, 1985), 19-22.

The six Arabic literary papyri comprise materials from both prophetic *logia* (*ḥadīth*) and law (*fiqh*). The papyri include: Ms Or.P173, P205, P365, P443, P518, and P521. Four of the six papyri were independently edited by William Matthews Malczycki<sup>43</sup> and Mark Muehlhaeusler.<sup>44</sup> Ms Or.P173 is a *ḥadīth* based legal (*fiqh*) text that addresses general and specific issues regarding menstruation. Ms Or.P205 is a proto-*fiqh* text, containing an admixture of *ḥadīth* and law proper that concerns the protocol for prayers. Ms Or.P365 is a *ḥadīth* commentary on *Sūra al-Nisā'*, Verse 34. In addition, Ms Or.P365 preserves a fragment of the *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Hanbal (780-855 C.E./164-241 A.H.). Ms Or.P443, as noted above, is an extant *ḥadīth* papyrus fragment of a *ḥadīth* compiler. Ms Or.P518 includes a mixture of *tā'rīkh* and *tafsīr* (Qur'ānic exegesis). Lastly, Ms Or.P521 is representative of a fully developed tradition of *ḥadīth*.

These specific papyri address a variety of issues relating to the development of prophetic *logia* (*ḥadīth*) and Islamic moral law (*fiqh*). The publication of these papyri will prove to be a substantial contribution to the understanding of the evolution of these traditions.

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<sup>43</sup> These include: Ms Or.P205, P365, P443, and P521. The re-edited papyri presented here shed new light on the four papyri as follows (the designation of Recto and Verso follow Malczycki). Ms Or.P205: Significant grammatical variance (Recto, Line 2); identification of a pericope of the *Qur'ān* (6:161-163) (Recto, Lines 7-8). Ms Or.P365: Malczycki provided an edition of the Recto; the re-edition includes an edition of the Verso that preserves almost verbatim a passage from the *Musnad* of Ibn Hanbal. Ms Or.P443: Rather than two identical *isnāds* on the Recto, the re-edition reveals variant readings of the name of the transmitter of the parallel *ḥadīths*. Ms Or.P521: The re-edition includes the reconstruction of five additional lines (Recto, Line 7; Verso, Lines 4-7). Cf. William Matthews Malczycki, "Literary Papyri from the University of Utah Arabic Papyrus and Paper Collection" (Ph.D. diss., University of Utah, 2006).

<sup>44</sup> These include: Ms Or.P518 and P521. Mark Muehlhaeusler was kind enough to make available his unpublished editions of these two papyri, in addition to providing instruction, assistance, and direction in the editing of all of the papyri in the present group.

## DOCUMENT 1: MS OR.P173<sup>45</sup>

### Identification

Date: Third/ninth century.<sup>46</sup>

Ms Or.P173 is a collection of *ḥadīths* that form the basis for a section of a judicial work addressing the issue of *mustahādah*. This papyrus partially overlaps in thematic content with the *Muwatta'* of Mālik b. Anas (c.715-796 C.E./96-179 A.H.), specifically, the books on “Menstruation in General” and “Bleeding as if Menstruating.”<sup>47</sup> Another parallel between the two works includes the fact that the *isnāds* trace back to ‘Āisha, as well as to other mutual transmitters.

### Physical Description

Good quality dark brown papyrus 26 x 18.5 cm. Black ink.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps a fragment of a roll; the beginning is missing and it is uncertain as to whether the end is complete.<sup>49</sup> Composed of three fragments: 26 x 8.3 cm, 19 x 10.5 cm, and 3 x 3 cm. The first

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<sup>45</sup> The physical description of the papyri are based on Lola Atiya, “Arabic Papyrus and Paper Collection,” Aziz S. Atiya Middle East Library, n.d., <http://www.lib.utah.edu/libraryinfo/dept/middleeast/papyrus/> (15 May 2007). The designation of Recto and Verso do not correspond with Atiya. Recto and Verso have been determined according to the standard practice of identifying the direction of the fibers of a given papyrus, i.e., horizontal and vertical, respectively. Where the designation of Recto and Verso differ from that of the reading order, the symbols A (Written First) and B (Written Subsequently) have been utilized. The papyri appear in numerical order in accordance with their catalogue designations.

<sup>46</sup> Petra Sijpesteijn (Personal e-mail correspondence (12 February 2008)).

<sup>47</sup> Mālik b. Anas, *Al-Muwatta' al-Imām Mālik: Riwayāt Yahyā b. Yahyā al-Laythī*, ed. Aḥmad Rātib ‘Armūsh (Beirut: Dār al-Nafā’is, 1977), 50-52; Malik b. Anas, *Al-Muwatta of Imam Malik ibn Anas: The First Formulation of Islamic Law*, trans. Aisha Abdurrahman Bewley (London: Kegan Paul International, 1989), 21-22.

<sup>48</sup> For specifics regarding the ink (مداد), cf. Adolf Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo: Al-Maaref Press, 1952), 67-68.

<sup>49</sup> Petra Sijpesteijn (Personal e-mail correspondence (12 February 2008)).





- 26 اعتدت في كل شهر بحيضة [2cm...] [-] ثلاثة ايام و[---] ان الحيضة [...] [---] عشب [...] 26.5  
 27 فيكون هو بحيضة وطر(هرة) [2cm...] لا (باحنا) العدة ولا تزوج حتى [-] [---] [...] 27  
 28 ثلاثة اشهر كملا [2cm...] [---] ع(بيدة) بن سليمان عن يحيى بن سعيد الا [...] 28.5  
 29 سعيد بن المسيب قال [---] [2cm...] [-] احنون او جرام [...] 29  
 30 فلم يعلم بذلك حتى يدخل <بها> [2cm...] [---] فرجها و[-----] [...] 30  
 31 [...] [-] (هـ) ان كان (م) على (م) [...] 31

### Text: Verso

[...] 1

### Translation: Recto

- 1 [...] 1  
 2 [...] <peace be upon him> 2  
 3 (and he has) [...] 3  
 4 [...] 4  
 5 the Messenger of God peace be upon him [...] 5  
 6 [...] (b. Abī 'Abla) from 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad [...] × [...] 6  
 7 in it [...] the (eyesight) of <the people> from me [...] × [...] 7  
 8 [...] (from) 'Attā (b. Abī) <Rabāh> [...] × [...] 'Alī b. (Abī) <Fālib> [...] 8  
 9 as if she is experiencing an intermittent discharge of blood Ø [...] 9  
 10 from 'Attā from ('Āisha said) [2cm...] [...] 10  
 11 and she prayed and even if it (was) [2cm...] [Ø] And [...] 11  
 12 'Attā from 'Āisha <she> said [2cm...] <b. Sulayman> [...] 12  
 13 from 'Āmir [...] [2cm...] [...] <a man> (marries) the [...] <with> her [...] or [...] 13  
 14 or [...] he said that <if he knows> [2cm...] her <her> dowry and if he does not 14  
 know until he consummated his marriage with her [...] 14  
 14.5 [...] 14.5  
 15 [...] [2cm...] (someone) said it was related to us (Sa'īd) b. Abī 'Arūba <from> 15  
 16 Qatāda (from) al-Ḥasan from <Samura> [...] [2cm...] <the Prophet of> God if the 16  
 man gives in marriage (his daughter) to <a man> [...] 16  
 17 and she is <to the first> of them both and if he <marries> [2cm...] [...] and 17  
 whichever man sold something from <two men> so it is [...] 17  
 18 to the first of them both (Ø) al-Walīd b. [2cm...] <from> (Yazīd) b. Abī Ḥabīb [...] 18  
 18.5 ' b. Khattāb 18.5  
 19 from Ibn Shihāb from Sa'īd b. al- <Musayyib> [...] <the\ waiting period \for> a 19  
 woman experiencing an intermittent discharge of blood <is one year> Ø al-Walīd 19  
 from [...] 19  
 20 Dīb from [...] 'Abd <Allāh> [2cm...] and (Ṣadaqaḥ) b. Hishām from (al-Ḥasan) he 20  
 said <it> [...] 20



- 20.5 <the woman experiencing an intermittent discharge of blood>  
 21 [ <three> 'O ] months said al-Walīd I asked [...] [2cm...] he said if you know  
 when her period starts (then she counts from that of) [...]  
 22 and if you do not know when (her) period starts then <she> counts from that of  
 [...] by reading [...] her [...] and her maternal aunts and her sisters and if [you] do  
 not [...]  
 23 that she counts three months [2cm...] <Abū> [...] from al-Ḥasan [...]  
 24 and said [...] what Mu'amad from [2cm...] [...] the woman experiencing an  
 intermittent discharge of blood by the reading said Abū [...]  
 25 I asked he [...] [2cm...] by counting by the reading of it and if you do not know  
 her reading  
 26 she counts one menstrual cycle every month [2cm...] [...] three days and [...] the  
 period [...]  
 27 it is one menstrual cycle and (purification) [2cm...] [...] the waiting period and she  
 cannot marry until [...]  
 28 three full months [...] [2cm...] 'Ubayd b. Sulayman from Yaḥyā b. Sa'īd al-[...]  
 28.5 said [...]  
 29 Sa'īd b. Musayyib said [...] [2cm...] [...]  
 30 if he does not know about that until <he consummates the marriage> [2cm...] [...]  
 so her chastity and [...]  
 31 [...] if (he knew) [...]

#### Translation: Verso

1 [...] (Figure 1 and Figure 2)

#### Comments

*Recto, Line 6.* “(b. Abī ‘Abla)”: Ibrahim b. Abī ‘Abla (d. c.769 C.E./152 A.H.),<sup>51</sup>  
 known as Abū Ishāq al-‘Uqaylī al-Shāmī al-Maqdisī, was the *shaykh* of Palestine and the  
 last of the generation of Successors (*Tābi‘ūn*).<sup>52</sup> He was born after the year 679 C.E./60  
 A.H.<sup>53</sup> Ibn Abī ‘Abla narrated from Wathila b. al-Asqa’, Anas b. Mālik (cf. Comments

<sup>51</sup> Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī b. Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī, *Kitāb tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār Ṣādr, 1907), 143; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad Dhahabī, *Tahdhīb siyar a’lām al-nubalā’*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Risālah, 1991), 235.

<sup>52</sup> Dhahabī, vol. 1, 235.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

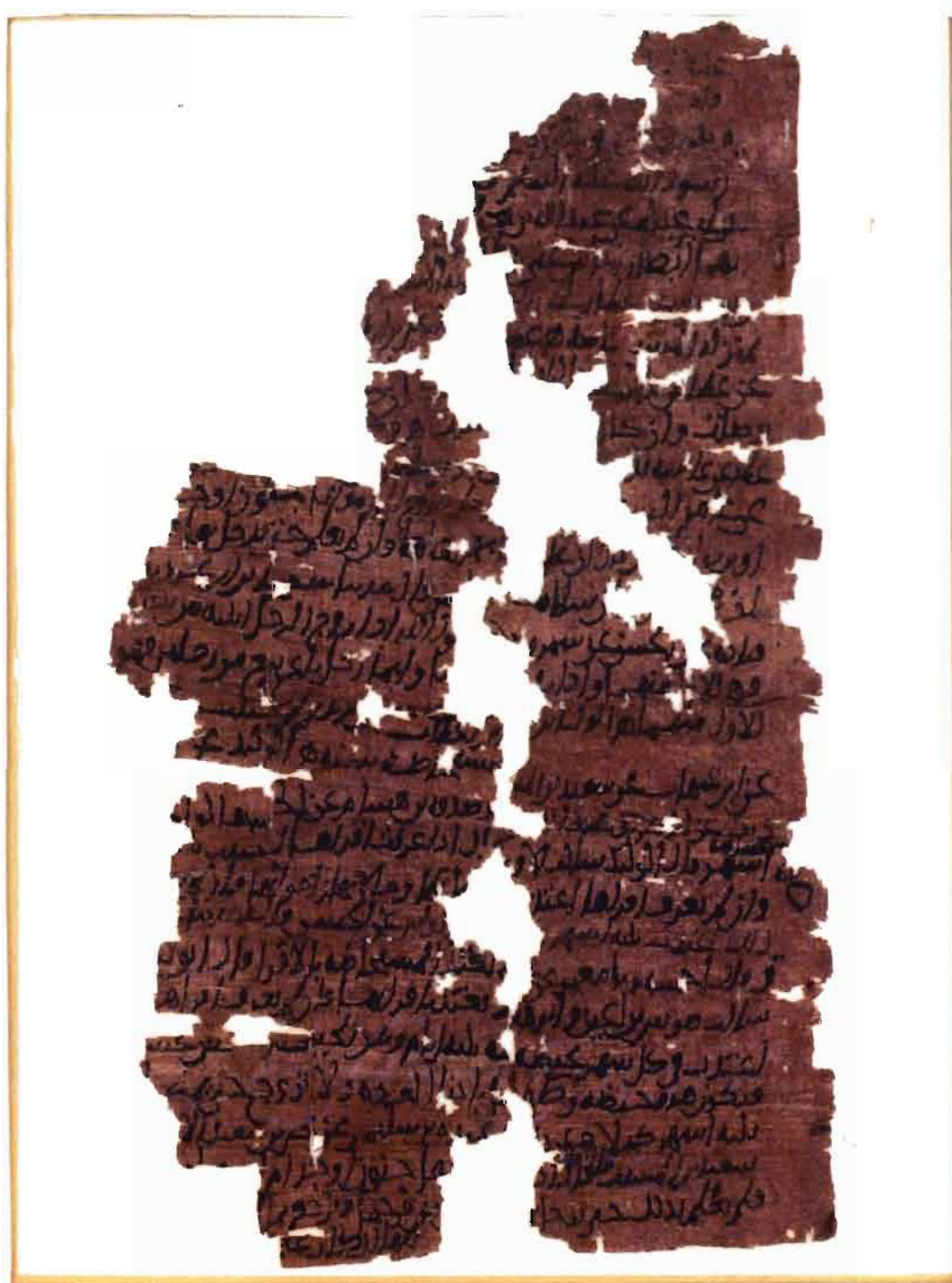


Figure 1. Ms Or.P173R

Rare Books Division

Special Collections

J. Willard Marriott Library

University of Utah

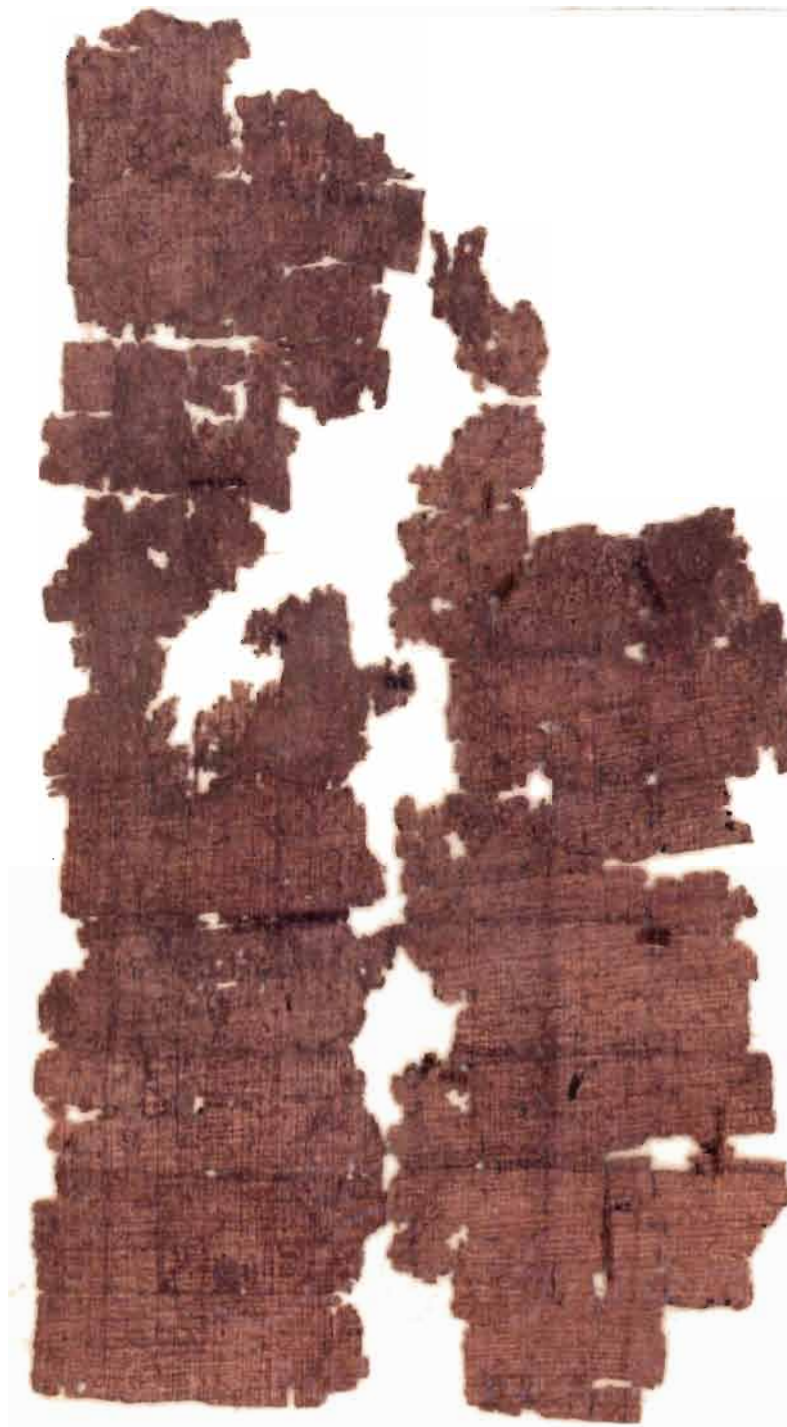


Figure 2. Ms Or.P173V  
Rare Books Division  
Special Collections  
J. Willard Marriott Library  
University of Utah

Section for Ms Or.P521R, Line 5, and Comments Section for Ms Or.P365VIS, Line 2), Abī Umama al-Bāhilī, *et alia*.<sup>54</sup> Those who narrated from him include Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Shūḥḥab, Mālik, al-Layth, *et alia*.<sup>55</sup> Yaḥyā b. Ma‘īn and al-Nasā’ī considered Ibn Abī ‘Abla trustworthy.<sup>56</sup>

*Recto, Line 8.* عطا: Read: عطا.

*Recto, Lines 8, 10, and 12.* “‘Attā (b. Abī) <Rabāh>”: Abū Muḥammad Attā b. Abī Rabāh Aslam (or Sālim) Ibn Safwān (d. c.733-4 C.E./114-115 A.H.) was the *muftī* of Mecca.<sup>57</sup> He learned *fiqh* and *ḥadīth* from Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Ansārī (d. 697-8 C.E./78 A.H.), ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Abbās, ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and many other Companions (*Ṣaḥāba*).<sup>58</sup> He also transmitted *ḥadīth* from ‘Āisha (cf. Recto, Lines 10 and 12), Umm Salama, Umm Hānā, Abū Hurayra (cf. Ms Or.P365RrS, Line 11, and Ms Or.P443R, Lines 8 and 14), and Fa’ifa.<sup>59</sup> ‘Attā b. Abī Rabāh is cited as a traditionist by ‘Amr b. Dinār (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 19), al-Zuhrī (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 19), Qatāda (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 16), Mālik b. Dinār, al-A‘mash, al-Awzā‘ī, *et alia*.<sup>60</sup> ‘Alī b. al-Madīnī declared him trustworthy.<sup>61</sup>

*Recto, Line 8.* ‘Alī b. (Abī) <Fālib>: ‘Alī b. Abī Fālib (d. 661 C.E./40 A.H.) was the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet and the fourth and last of the *Rāshidūn* caliphs (cf. Ms Or.P518V, Line 8).<sup>62</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Khallikān, *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary [Wafayāt al-a’yān]*, trans. Bn. Mac Guckin de Slane, vol. 2 (Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1970), 203-204; Dhahabī, vol. 1, 175.

<sup>58</sup> Ibn Khallikān, vol. 2, 203 and 205.

<sup>59</sup> Dhahabī, vol. 1, 175.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.; Ibn Khallikān, vol. 2, 203.

<sup>61</sup> Op cit.

<sup>62</sup> cf. L. Veccia Vaglieri, “‘Alī b. Abī Fālib,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs, 2008,

*Recto, Line 9. Mustahādah:* “a woman in the state of pseudo menstruation.”<sup>63</sup>

*Istihādah* is “a term used by the jurists for the blood discharge which occurs outside the periods of menstruation and following childbirth and which cannot be considered menstruation (such as a discharge occurring after the maximum period of menstruation or within its minimum period). It is usually yellowish, cold, thin and flows out slowly as opposed to menstruation.”<sup>64</sup>

*Recto, Lines 10 and 12. “Āisha”:* ‘Āisha bint Abī Bakr (d. 678 C.E./58 A.H.) was the third and favorite wife of the Prophet. As her name indicates, she was also the daughter of the first *Rāshidūn* caliph, Abū Bakr (d. 634 C.E./13 A.H.).<sup>65</sup> ‘Āisha is said to have transmitted 1210 traditions, approximately 300 of which are found in the canons (*Ṣaḥīḥayn*) of Bukhārī and Muslim.<sup>66</sup> Attā b. Abī Rabāh (cf. Comments Section, *Recto*, Lines 8, 10, and 12) transmitted *ḥadīth* from ‘Āisha.

*Recto, Line 12. <بن سليمان>:* Reconstructed, cf. Line 28.

*Recto, Line 14.* Parallel clauses signaled by *ان*.

*Recto, Line 15. “(Sa‘īd) b. Abī ‘Arūba”:* Mihrān Abū al-Naḍr al-‘Adawī al-Baṣrī Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘Arūba (c.689-771-6 C.E./70-155-159 A.H.) was a Basran traditionalist.<sup>67</sup> He is credited to have been among the first to compose *muṣannaf*-type *ḥadīth* collections.<sup>68</sup> The two works of Sa‘īd (i.e., the *Kitāb al-Sunan* and the *Kitāb al-Falāq*) are no longer

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[http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_COM-0046](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_COM-0046) (26 February 2008).

<sup>63</sup> Laleh Bakhtiar, *Encyclopedia of Islamic Law: A Compendium of the Major Schools* (Chicago: Kazi Publications, Inc., 1996), 601.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>65</sup> W. Montgomery Watt, “Ā’isha Bint Abī Bakr,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs, 2008,

[http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_SIM-0440](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-0440) (26 February 2008).

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> W. Raven, “Sa‘īd b. Abī Arūba,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs, 2008,

[http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_SIM-6482](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-6482) (26 February 2008).

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

extant.<sup>69</sup> Overall, as a transmitter, Sa‘īd is deemed reliable, although Ahmad b. Ḥanbal charges him with *tadlīs*, i.e., tampering with *isnāds*.<sup>70</sup> Sa‘īd was the pupil of Qatāda b. Di‘āma (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 16) whose *Kitāb al-Manāsik* he edited.<sup>71</sup> Sa‘īd was also a transmitter of the Successor, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 16, and Lines 16, 20, and 23).<sup>72</sup> ‘Abd al-A‘lā b. ‘Abd al-A‘lā al-Sāmī (d. 805 C.E./189 A.H.) transmitted from Sa‘īd.<sup>73</sup>

*Recto, Line 15.* <عن>: Reconstructed from an established *isnād*.

*Recto, Line 16.* “Qatāda”: Abū al-Khattāb Qatāda b. Di‘āma b. Qatāda al-Sadūsī (c.680-735 C.E./60-117 A.H.) belonged to the class of Successors and was the student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 15, and Lines 16, 20, and 23) and Ibn Sīrīn (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 16 (below)).<sup>74</sup> Qatāda was also the teacher of Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘Arūba (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 15). The *Ṣaḥīfa* of Jābir b. ‘Abd Allāh was transmitted by Qatāda.<sup>75</sup> Lastly, Qatāda cites Attā b. Abī Rabāh (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Lines 8, 10, and 12) and Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Lines 19 and 29) as authorities.

*Recto, Lines 16, 20, and 23.* “al-Ḥasan”: Abū Sa‘īd b. Abī al-Ḥasan Yasār al-Baṣrī (642-728 C.E./21-110 A.H.), the prominent preacher during the Umayyad period,

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ch. Pellat, “Qatāda b. Di‘āma b. Qatāda al-Sadūsī, Abū al-Khattāb,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs, 2008, [http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_SIM-4014](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-4014) (26 February 2008). The date of Qatāda’s death is contradictory in the sources (Ibid.).

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

was numbered among the Successor class.<sup>76</sup> al-Ḥasan transmitted from Samura b. Jundub (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 16 (below)). Qatāda b. Di‘āma, a pupil of al-Ḥasan and Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘Arūba, was a well-known transmitter of al-Ḥasan (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Lines 15 and 16). Later *ḥadīth* commentators did not consider al-Ḥasan reliable because of his handling of *isnāds*.<sup>77</sup> According to H. Ritter: “Measured by later standards, Ḥasan handled *ḥadīth* in a very careless fashion. His own sayings were circulated as *ḥadīths*, and he did not protest...Hence he is judged harshly by the critics of the *muḥaddithūn*. Dhahabī designates him in the *Mīzān*...as *kathīr al-tadlīs* ‘rich in forgeries’....”<sup>78</sup>

*Recto, Line 16.* “<Samura>”: Samura b. Jundub (d. 677-8 C.E./58-9 A.H.) hailed from Basra.<sup>79</sup> Samura is said to have had good *ḥadīths*.<sup>80</sup> Those who transmitted on his authority include his son and Sulayman, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Lines 16 and 17), Ibn Sīrīn (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 16 (above)), *et alia*.<sup>81</sup>

*Recto, Line 16.* حرسك و حل الله: Reconstruction of standard phrase based on the final *wāw* and *lām*.

*Recto, Line 17.* بيع requires ا.

*Recto, Line 18.* “(Yazīd) b. Abī Ḥabīb”: Cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P518R, Line 9 and Ms Or.P518V, Line 12, and Comments Section for Ms Or.P365R, Line 1. Muḥammad b. Ishāq (767 C.E./150 A.H.), the author of the famous *Sīra*, is said to have studied under a certain Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb when Ibn Ishāq arrived in Alexandria in

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.; H. Ritter, “Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Abū Sa‘īd b. Abī al-Ḥasan Yasār al-Baṣrī (21/642-110/728),” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs, 2008, [http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_COM-0273](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_COM-0273) (26 February 2008).

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Dhahabī, vol. 1, 94.

<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

737 C.E./119 A.H.<sup>82</sup> Under the entry for “‘Abd Allāh b. Lahīa,” Ibn Khallikān relates a narrative from Ibn Lahī‘a (cf. Ms Or.P365RrS, Line 1), the incipit of which reads: “On going to see Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb....”<sup>83</sup> William McGuckin de Slane cites this Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb as Abū Rajā Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb Suwaid (d. 745 C.E./128 A.H.).<sup>84</sup> de Slane notes that Yazīd “studied the Traditions under a number of eminent masters and had al-Laith Ibn Saad among his own pupils.”<sup>85</sup>

*Recto, Line 18.5.* “‘ b. Khattāb’”: Perhaps ‘Umar b. al-Khattāb (d. 644 C.E./23 A.H.), the third of the *Rāshidūn* caliphs (cf. Ms Or.P518R, Line 12, and Comments Section for Ms Or.P365VlS, Line 11).<sup>86</sup>

*Recto, Line 19.* ‘Ibn Shihāb’: Perhaps Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhrī (d. 742 C.E./124 A.H.). al-Zuhrī was among the most prominent Medinan Successors, jurists, and traditionists.<sup>87</sup> al-Zuhrī transmitted on the authority of ‘Attā b. Abī Rabāḥ (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Lines 8, 10, and 12) and Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Lines 19 and 29). Among those who cited al-Zuhrī were Mālik b. Anas (c.715-796 C.E./96-179 A.H.), Sufyān b. ‘Uyana, and Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 778 C.E./161 A.H.) (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 28).<sup>88</sup> Ibn Khallikān relates that al-Zuhrī met ‘Amr b. Dinār (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Lines 8, 10, and 12) while he was in Mecca.<sup>89</sup>

<sup>82</sup> J.M.B. Jones, “Ibn Ishāq, Muhammad b. Ishāq b. Yasār b. Khiyār (according to some sources, b. Khabbār, or Kūmān, or Kūtān),” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs, 2008, [http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_SIM-3222](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-3222) (26 February 2008).

<sup>83</sup> Ibn Khallikān, vol. 2, 18.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> G. Levi DellaVida and Michael Bonner, “‘Umar (I) b. al-Khattāb,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs, 2008, [http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_SIM-7707](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-7707) (26 February 2008).

<sup>87</sup> Op cit., 581-583. According to Ibn Khallikān, other sources give al-Zuhrī’s date of death as 741 C.E./123 A.H. or 723 C.E./105 A.H. (Ibid., 583).

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 546 and 582; Susan A. Spector, “Tābi‘ūn (a.) (sing. tābi or tābiī),” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs, 2008,



*Recto, Lines 19 and 29.* “Sa‘īd b. al-<Musayyib>”: Abū Muhammad Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib b. Hazn b. Abī Wahb b. ‘Amr b. ‘Āidh b. ‘Imrān b. Makhzūm b. Yaqaẓa (636/7-709/10 C.E./15/16-91 A.H.) was a Medinan traditionalist (*‘ālum ahl al-madīna*) who belonged to the class of Successors.<sup>90</sup> Sa‘īd was considered one of the seven great jurists of Medina.<sup>91</sup> Sa‘īd studied under Sa‘d b. Abī Wakkas (d. between 670 C.E./50 A.H. and 677 C.E./58 A.H.) and Abū Hurayra (cf. Ms Or.P365RrS, Line 11) whose daughter he married.<sup>92</sup> Sa‘īd saw ‘Umar (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 18.5), and heard ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 8), Zayd b. Thābit, Abū Mūsā, ‘Āisha (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Lines 10 and 12), Ibn ‘Abbās, Muḥammad b. Maslama, and Umm Salama.<sup>93</sup> al-Zuhrī (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 19) and Mak’hūl both considered Sa‘īd to be the most competent jurist they had encountered.<sup>94</sup> al-Zuhrī and Qatāda (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 16) transmitted *ḥadīth* on the authority of Sa‘īd.<sup>95</sup>

*Recto, Line 19.* <عدة> مستحاضة <سنة>: The last word before the punctuation mark is *sana* – since the waiting period of the *mustahādah* is one year, which is the topic this section is addressing. There must be *‘idda* somewhere in the lacuna after al-Musayyib, perhaps with a *qāla*: “...s.b. al-Musayyib, *qāla*: ‘*idda al-mustahādah sana*.”<sup>96</sup>

[http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_SIM-7259](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-7259) (26 February 2008).

<sup>89</sup> Ibn Khallikān, vol. 2, 546 and 582.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., vol. 1, 568-569. Ibn Khallikān also gives the dates between 709/10 C.E./91 A.H. through 713 C.E./95 A.H., and even 723 C.E./105 A.H., as alternative death dates for Sa‘īd (Ibid.); Dhahabī gives the year 712 C.E./94 A.H. as the date of death (Dhahabī, vol. 1, 143).

<sup>91</sup> Ibn Khallikān, vol. 1, 569.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 569 and 570.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 569; Dhahabī, vol. 1, 143.

<sup>94</sup> Ibn Khallikān, vol. 1, 569.

<sup>95</sup> Dhahabī, vol. 1, 143.

<sup>96</sup> Mark Muehlhaeusler (Personal e-mail correspondence (26 December 2007)).

*Recto, Lines 19 and 27.* عِدَّة: Waiting period before remarrying or ablution after completing menstrual cycle.

*Recto, Line 20.* “Dīb”: Perhaps Abū al-Ḥārith Muḥammad, surnamed Ibn Abī Dīb/Dhīb/Dhi’b/Zīb (700-775/6 C.E./80-159 A.H.), an eminent jurist and pupil of Mālik.<sup>97</sup> Ibn Khallikān relates the following anecdote regarding Ibn Abī Dīb: “When Mālik went to Abū Ja’far al-Mansūr that khalif asked him what masters (*in the science of jurisprudence*) he had left behind him at Medīna, and he replied: ‘Commander of the faithful! Ibn Abī Dīb, Ibn Abī Salama, and Ibn Abī Sabra.’”<sup>98</sup> The following account with regard to Ibn Abī Dīb is also preserved by Ibn Khallikān: “...Ibn Wahb...relates that he heard these words proclaimed by a public crier in Medīna: ‘Let no person act as *mufti* to the people except Mālik Ibn Anas and Ibn Abī Zīb.’”<sup>99</sup> Ibn Abī Dīb heard traditions from ‘Ikrima (cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P365RrS, Lines 2 and 3), Shurḥbīl b. Sa’d, Sa’īd al-Maqrubī, and Nāfa’ al-‘Umarī.<sup>100</sup> Those who transmitted from Ibn Abī Dīb include Ibn Mabārak, Abu Nu’īm, Wakī’,<sup>101</sup> *et alia*.<sup>102</sup>

*Recto, Line 21.* [ O` <ثَلَاثَةٌ> ]: “Three” directly above the punctuation mark (O) in the marginalia.

*Recto, Lines 21, 22, and 25.* Read: “you” or “she.”

*Recto, Lines 24 and 25.* اقرا: Translated as “reading.” This term may in fact read “qara.” “Qara” is defined by the Ja’farī, Mālikī, and Shāfi’ī legal schools as “free from

<sup>97</sup> Ibn Khallikān, vol. 2, 589.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 546.

<sup>100</sup> Dhahabī, vol. 1, 252.

<sup>101</sup> Perhaps the famous Kūfān traditionist, Wakī’ b. al-Jarrāh (d. 812/197) (Spectorsky, n.p.).

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

menstrual cycle”; whereas the Ḥanafī and Ḥanbalī schools define *qara* as “menstruation.”<sup>103</sup>

*Recto, Line 28.* “Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd al-[...]”: Perhaps the *qādī* Abū Sa‘īd Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd al-Anṣārī (d. 760/1 C.E./143 A.H.).<sup>104</sup> Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd instructed Mālik b. Anas (c.715-796 C.E./96-179 A.H.) in the traditions.<sup>105</sup> In addition to Mālik, those who transmitted from Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd include Abū Ḥanīfa, Sufyān b. ‘Uyana, and Sufyān al-Thawrī (cf. Comments Section, Recto, Line 19).<sup>106</sup> Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd was a contemporary of Ḥumayd b. al-Fawīl (cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P365VIS, Line 11).

*Recto, Line 30.* فَرَجَهَا: Cf. the Qur’ān: “And (remember) her who guarded her chastity: We breathed into her of Our Spirit, and We Made her and her son A Sign for all peoples” (21:91).<sup>107</sup> The reference is to the Virgin Mary.<sup>108</sup>

*Verso, Line 1.* Multispectral Imaging (MSI) or an infrared digital image might assist in the reading of this lemma.

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<sup>103</sup> Bakhtiar, 520 and 522.

<sup>104</sup> Ibn Khallikān, vol. 2, 549.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 545.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.

<sup>107</sup> ‘Abdullah Yūsuf ‘Alī, *The Meaning of the Holy Qur’an*, 10<sup>th</sup> ed. (Maryland: Amana Publications, 1999), 815.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid., 815, fn. 2748; Muhammad M. Pickthall, *The Glorious Qur’an* (New York: Tahrike Tarsile Qur’an Inc., 1992), 334, fn. 3.

## DOCUMENT 2: MS OR.P205

### Identification

Date: Second half of the second/eighth century.<sup>109</sup>

Ms Or.P205 is important as it represents a proto-*fiqh* text, containing an admixture of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* proper. The contents address the prayer protocol. Lola Atiya questions whether this text is a forgery,<sup>110</sup> perhaps because of the inordinate number of diacritical and short vowel markings, in addition to the fact that the text seems to continue on from one line at the bottom of the text to the other side even though the text that would contain the necessary transition is destroyed.

The long-held notion that the most ancient texts are devoid of diacritical marks has been demonstrated to be in error.<sup>111</sup> The issue of the supposed continuity of the text from one side to the other is also misleading as the text is a protocol for prayer, and the missing portion containing a *rak'a* cycle is absent along with the corresponding section of the destroyed text.<sup>112</sup> The archaic features of the script and the fact that the ink continues to cling to the fiber where the text is ripped at the bottom of the papyrus

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<sup>109</sup> Petra Sijpesteijn (Personal e-mail correspondence (12 February 2008)). Cf. Malczycki, 148.

<sup>110</sup> cf. Lola Atiya, "Arabic Papyrus and Paper Collection," n.p.

<sup>111</sup> Grohmann, *World*, 82. "Although it was believed for a certain time according to the statements made by Arab writers, that the invention of the so-called *diacritical dots* did not take place before the second half of the first Century of the Hīra – Yaḥyā ibn Ya'mar (d. before 90 A.H., 709 A.D.) is credited therewith during the reign of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān (d. 86 A.H., 705 A.D.) – it is a fact that already the oldest papyrus-document dated 22 A.H. (643 A.D.), PERF No. 558, shows diacritical dots above the letters ش ز ذ خ and ن..." (Ibid.).

<sup>112</sup> Hanan Ahmad is credited with this observation.

indicate that this text is not a fake. This claim can be verified or falsified by means of radiocarbon dating (otherwise known as Carbon-14 or C-14 testing).

### Physical Description

Strong quality brown papyrus 12 x 26 cm. Black ink. The beginning of the text starts on the Verso (A) and continues on the Recto (B). The portion transitioning from the Verso to the Recto is no longer extant.

**Recto:** Recto yields 9 lines. Upper margin intact. In good condition.

**Verso:** Reconstruction of Verso yields 11 lines. Margins: Upper end and side margins are negligible. In good condition.

### Script

A number of diacritical marks are evidenced, i.e., dotted ب, ت, ث, ج, خ, ذ, ز, ش, ض, غ, ف, ق, ن, and ي. *Fā'* is marked by one dot under the grapheme and *qā'* is identified by one dot above the grapheme. The backwinding final *yā'* is a distinct characteristic of the text. In lieu of the *alif maqṣūra*, *yā'* is employed (cf. Verso, Line 3: علي for على). No distinction is made between the *tā'marbūta* and the non-emphatic *hā'* in terms of dotting (cf. Verso, Line 4 for an undotted *tā'marbūta*). *Wuḏu* (cf. Verso, Line 2) is spelled without the final *hamza*. Adolf Grohmann notes that "[t]he *hamza* is, as a rule, completely neglected,"<sup>113</sup> as the *hamza* is a development of the third/ninth century.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Op cit., 95.

<sup>114</sup> Malczycki, 153.

The date of the second half of the second/eighth century is based on the shape of the *ḍāl* without a backbending top and the *‘ayn/ghayn* that is not very triangular.<sup>115</sup>

The *alif* of prolongation is utilized as opposed to the use of the dagger *alif* (cf. Recto, Line 6 and Verso, Line 8).<sup>116</sup> In other cases, the *alif* of prolongation as well as the dagger *alif* are omitted altogether (cf. Verso, Line 7, Read: السّمونّ; and cf. Verso, Line 8, Read: العلل(ع)ن). Short vowel diacritic *dhamma* ( ُ ) is present in the text, cf. Verso, Line 2.

Verso, Line 3, employs letter extensions. Grohmann remarks that the extension of final forms of letters, known as *dilatables*, is permitted only at the end of a line in characteristically finely executed calligraphy.<sup>117</sup> The *dilatables* are particularly employed with the د, ص, ض, ط, ظ, and ك.<sup>118</sup> In the case of this papyrus, the ت is the *dilatable*. The *dilatables* are utilized in order to fill space when there is either barely enough space for another word, let alone for two.<sup>119</sup> Abbott notes that the *dilatables* serve to provide emphasis to the sentence.<sup>120</sup> The extensions in the form of a long stroke, known as *kashīdah* or *mashq* also serve an æsthetic function.<sup>121</sup>

Verso, Line 9, has a blot out by the scribe. Hyphenation of words is also manifest in this papyrus (cf. Recto, Lines 3 and 4; Verso, Lines 9 and 10). Generally, a given word concludes a line, but exceptions in the form of hyphenation are attested to as early as the first/seventh century in the *Qurra*-papyri (709-714 C.E./90-96 A.H.), and in a legal

<sup>115</sup> Petra Sijpesteijn (Personal e-mail correspondence (12 February 2008)).

<sup>116</sup> For this archaic orthographical feature, cf. Grohmann, *World*, 88.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., 80.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid.

<sup>120</sup> Abbott, *Studies*, vol. 1, 61.

<sup>121</sup> Adam Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition: A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 125. Grohmann, *World*, 80.

text dated 707 C.E./88 A.H.<sup>122</sup> The most striking example is that of the *basmala*,<sup>123</sup> which reads:

بسم الله الر  
حمن الرحيم

Lastly, the spelling of *Qur'ān* with a *wāw* (القروان) is especially conspicuous (cf. Verso, Line 9).

#### Text: Recto

- 1 ثم يرفع راسه ويجعل مرجع كفيه {فـ} به على ركبتيه ثم يشرع اصابعه قبل ا
- 2 القبلة ويقيم ابهامه ثم يصل الصلوه كلها على هذا فاذا جلست
- 3 في الركعتين فتشهد ولا تـ <زـ > يدن فيه شيا ولا تنقصه حتى تفرغ من شها <دتك>
- 4 <شها> دتك فاذا فر <غت> فقل ما شيت ان الكلم الطيب كبير (ا) كل (فت)
- 5 بن مسعود يقول في شهادته <بـ> اسم الله فيقول الكلم الطيب (يب)
- 6 هاكذا [...] ]
- 7 [...] ]
- 8 الله الصالح <حين> (اشـ) هـ (الا) اله <الا> الله وان محمدا رسول الله < [...] ]
- 9 [...] ]

#### Text: Verso

- 1 بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
- 2 من الصلاه حسن الوضو هو منها جُها يحلها التسليم ويحرمها الـ [-] كبير
- 3 علي كل مسلم اذا قام الى الصلوه ان يقوم لله قانتا والقنـ {نـ} وت
- 4 الركوع والركوع والخشوع والخشوع من رهبة الله ثم يكون اول
- 5 ما يقول حين يقوم وهو (رافع) يديه هذا منكبيه من غير تجاور ان اذنيه فيقول الله هو اكبر
- 6 سبحنك (اللهـ)م وتبارك (اسما)يك وتـ <عالي> <حو> <حـ> دك ولا اله غيرك وجهت وجهي للذي فطـ (ر)
- 7 السموت والارض حنيفا مسلما وما انا من المشركين ان صلاتي ونسكـ <هي> ومحياي و
- 8 مما <تـ> ي الله رب العلـ (ميـ)ن لا شريك له بذالك امرت وان اكون من المسلمين ثم يفـ (نتـ)ح
- 9 فيقـ (ول) القروان فاذا فرغ من قراته قاـ <ل الله> (ا) كبر وهو رافع يديه حـ <ذـ> ا
- 10 ا منكبيه من غير تجـ (اوز) ان اذنيهـ (هـ) [---] رـ <حو> <ع> [...] ] (ا) صل راسه ولم [----] بما وكفيه
- 11 [...] ]

<sup>122</sup> Grohmann, *World*, 90.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

Translation: Recto

- 1 Then one raises one's head and places one's palm of the hands on one's knees,  
then stretch one's index finger in the direction of
- 2 the *Qibla* and lay one's thumb on the side, then perform the whole prayer in this  
position and when you sit
- 3 in the two *rak'as*, then you recite the *tashahhud* and do not add to it or omit from  
it until the *shahāda* is done
- 4 and when done say whatever \you want\ for the Good Word is great. (I advised)
- 5 Ibn Mas'ūd to say in his *shahāda*: In the name of God and he said the (Good)  
Word
- 6 in this way [...]
- 7 [...]
- 8 God's <righteous slaves.> (I witness that there is no) god <but God and that  
Muhammad is the Messenger of God>
- 9 [...]

Translation: Verso

- 1 In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful.
- 2 In order to perform the prayer properly, one needs to perform the *wuḍū* properly.  
The *taslīm* makes it \i.e., the prayer\ *ḥallāl* or *ḥarām* [...]
- 3 It is incumbent on all Muslims if one goes to the prayer that one stand \before\  
God humbly. And humble
- 4 *rak'as* and *rak'as* and humbleness and humbleness from the fear of God then the  
first thing
- 5 to be said when one stands (raising) one's hands parallel to one's shoulders  
without one's hands being next to one's ears so one says God is Great
- 6 You (are exalted) and great are (Your names) and <most high.> You are <one>  
and there is no god except You. I turned my face to Whom (created)
- 7 the heavens and the earth \for\ the *Hanīf* \and\ *Muslim* and I am not of the  
disbelievers verily my prayer and <my> piety and my life and
- 8 my <death> belong to God the lord of (the two worlds) and there is no partner to  
Him, this I am commanded and that I am one among the Muslims, then (one  
starts)
- 9 (reciting) the Qur'ān. Once one is done with the recitation, <one says God is>  
(Great) and one stands raising one's hands <parallel>
- 10 to one's shoulders without one's hands (being next to one's) ears [...] <*rak'as*>  
[...] one's head and not [...] with the palm of one's hands
- 11 [...] (Figure 3 and Figure 4)





Figure 3. Ms Or.P205R  
 Rare Books Division  
 Special Collections  
 J. Willard Marriott Library  
 University of Utah



Figure 4. Ms Or.P205V  
 Rare Books Division  
 Special Collections  
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 University of Utah

## Comments

*Recto, Line 1.* كَفَيْهِ {فـ}هـ: Read: كَفَيْهِ. The *fā'* is a dittograph. This word is spelled correctly on Verso, Line 10. Malczycki reads: كَفَيْتِه.<sup>124</sup>

*Recto, Line 1.* At the end of the line there is an extra *alif* written perhaps from the article of *al-Qibla* on the following line.

*Recto, Line 2.* الصلوه: *Ṣalāh* is spelled with a *wāw*. Since no distinction is made between the *tā'marbūta* and the non-emphatic *hā'* in terms of dotting, it is uncertain whether *Ṣalāh* is spelled with the former or the latter. The spelling of *Ṣalāh* with a *wāw* and with a *hā'* are both characteristic of Middle Arabic.<sup>125</sup> Cf. Verso, Line 2, where *Ṣalāh* is spelled with an *alif* (الصلاه), but in the following line of the same side, the spelling reverts back to the *wāw* (الصلوه). This cannot be a result of grammatical case inflection because both nouns are preceded by prepositions (Line 2, *min*; Line 3, *ilā*).

*Recto, Line 2.* *Qibla*: “[O]rientation towards the Kabah for prescribed prayer.”<sup>126</sup>

*Recto, Lines 2 and 3.* فاذا...ف: Protasis and apodosis of a conditional sentence.

*Recto, Line 3.* *Rak'a*: “[C]ycle of prescribed prayer.”<sup>127</sup>

*Recto, Line 3.* ولا تحز<ين: The *zayn* seems to be spelled with a *wāw*. Malczycki reads: ولا تويدن.<sup>128</sup> In the semantic context of the following word coordinated by *wāw* (i.e., “or omit from it”), the reading of *zayn* is probable, thus rendering the meaning accordingly as “do not add \to it\.” On the other hand, the reading of *zayn* as *wāw* (i.e.,

<sup>124</sup> Malczycki, 150.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 158. Cf. Simon Hopkins, *Studies in Early Arabic Grammar Based Upon Papyri Datable to Before 300 A.H./912 A.D.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 16.

<sup>126</sup> Bakhtiar, 602.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

<sup>128</sup> Malczycki, 150.

(ولا تویدن) translates as “and do not genuflect at all.” In light of these considerations, the *zayn* in this case might represent a cacograph.

*Recto, Line 3.* شيا: Read: شى or شيا. Grohmann also cites شای as peculiar writing preserved in the papyri.<sup>129</sup>

*Recto, Line 3. Tashahhud:* “[S]itting back on knees and bearing witness.”<sup>130</sup>

*Recto, Line 3. Shahāda:* “[B]earing witness of the Oneness of God and the prophethood of Muhammad.”<sup>131</sup>

*Recto, Line 3.* نـ: Negative emphatic.

*Recto, Line 4.* فقر <غت>: Malczycki reads: {يـ}مت.<sup>132</sup>

*Recto, Line 4.* كـ (ا) (كـ)فت: Malczycki reads: كـ (كان).<sup>133</sup>

*Recto, Line 5.* <بـ>اسم الله فيقول: Malczycki reads: {و ا} بسم الله يقول.<sup>134</sup>

*Recto, Line 6.* هاكذا: Malczycki reads: فاكد ان.<sup>135</sup>

*Recto, Lines 6, 7, 8, and 9:* The text following هاكذا in Line 6 can be reconstructed as it is probable that the text is that of the *Tashahhud*.<sup>136</sup> This is confirmed by the overlapping of the words الله الصا<ل>ح<ن> (ش)هد الا اله in Line 8 with the text of the *Tashahhud*. There are two versions of the *Tashahhud*, the minimal and the optimal. The minimal *Tashahhud* reads as follows:

<sup>129</sup> Grohmann, *World*, 88.

<sup>130</sup> Bakhtiar, 605.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 604.

<sup>132</sup> Malczycki, 150.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Hanan Ahmad is credited with the identification and reconstruction of the *Tashahhud*.

"التَّحِيَّاتُ لِلَّهِ سَلامٌ عَلَيْكَ أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ سَلامٌ عَلَيْنَا وَعَلَى عِبَادِ اللَّهِ الصَّالِحِينَ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ".<sup>137</sup>

The optimal *Tashahhud* reads as follows:

"التَّحِيَّاتُ الْمُبَارَكَاتُ الصَّلَوَاتُ الطَّيِّبَاتُ لِلَّهِ السَّلامُ عَلَيْكَ أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ وَبَرَكَاتُهُ السَّلامُ عَلَيْنَا وَعَلَى عِبَادِ اللَّهِ الصَّالِحِينَ أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ".<sup>138</sup>

Given the average number of words per sentence on the Recto, it seems more probable that the reconstructed text would approximate the optimal *Tashahhud* since it is of greater length.

*Recto, Line 8.* "God's <righteous slaves.>": Cf. the text of the *Tashahhud* for reconstruction (above). "The minimal Testification of Faith (Tashahhud) is to say: 'Greeting to Allah. Peace be upon you, O Prophet, and the mercy of Allah and His blessings. Peace be upon us and upon Allah's righteous slaves. I testify there is no god except Allah, and that Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.'"<sup>139</sup>

*Recto, Line 8.* Contraction. Read: أن+لا = ألّا.

*Recto, Line 8.* {و ا} لا لله: Malczycki reads: (الا) اله.<sup>140</sup>

*Recto, Line 8.* <الا الله وان محمدا رسول الله>: Reconstructed standard phrase. See above for further comments on the reconstruction of the text.

*Verso, Line 2.* Wuḍu (الوضو): "[S]horter ablution."<sup>141</sup> The word *wuḍu* marks the end of the clause. *Wuḍu* is spelled without the final *hamza*; the *hamza* being a development of the third/ninth century.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>137</sup> Ahmad b. Naqib al-Misri, *Reliance of the Traveller: A Classic Manual of Islamic Sacred Law* [*Umdat al-sālik*], ed. and trans. Nuh Ha Mim Keller (Evanston, Illinois: Sunna Books, 1991), 143.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid. Emphasis added.

<sup>140</sup> Malczycki, 150.

<sup>141</sup> Bakhtiar, 607.

<sup>142</sup> Op cit., 153.

*Verso, Line 2.* جُها: A way of doing things. Malczycki reads: <sup>143</sup>فَتْحُهَا.

*Verso, Line 2.* *Taslīm*: Submission, surrender.

*Verso, Line 2.* *Ḥallāl*: Permissible.

*Verso, Line 2.* *Ḥarām*: Forbidden.

*Verso, Line 2.* الـ[-كبير]: This word might read *takbīr*, the pronouncement of the formula *Allāhu akbar*. Malczycki reads: <sup>144</sup>التكبير.

*Verso, Line 3.* علي كل مسلم: Malczycki reads: <sup>145</sup>غير كراهتم.

*Verso, Line 3.* القذ{ن}وت: The word has an extra tooth (the *rasm* reads: (العسوب).

This is perhaps a dittograph. *al-Qanūt* is not to be confused with the *Du‘ā al-Qanūt* recited at the dawn prescribed prayer (*fajr*).<sup>146</sup> In this context it means humble.

*Verso, Line 5.* Line 5 parallels Lines 9 and 10.

*Verso, Line 5.* ما يقول: Malczycki reads: <sup>147</sup>ايقول.

*Verso, Line 5.* (رافع): Malczycki reads: <sup>148</sup>يرفع.

*Verso, Line 5.* تجاوز: Malczycki reads: <sup>149</sup>اتجاوز.

*Verso, Line 5.* ان: *an* should precede *tajāwur* and follow *ghayr*. This is a peculiar, perhaps archaic construction which has a parallel in Lines 7 and 10. Cf. Ms Or.P518V, Line 10.

*Verso, Line 6.* تـ<عالي> <و>(ح)دك ولا اله: Malczycki reads: <sup>150</sup>تقل جدك ولا الله.

*Verso, Line 7.* *Ḥanīf*: Pure monotheist. Read: حنيفاً مسلماً.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 150.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid.

<sup>146</sup> Bakhtiar, 593.

<sup>147</sup> Op cit.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

*Verso, Line 7.* ما انا: Malczycki reads: انا ما.<sup>151</sup>

*Verso, Line 7.* “Disbelievers”: “اهل الشرك | *ahl aš-širk* polytheism, idolatry | the polytheists, the idolaters.”<sup>152</sup> After *al-Mushrakīn*: a verb, e.g., *qāl*, should follow given the stand alone *an*, in order to make it a proper construction.

*Verso, Lines 7 and 8.* مماتي: Read: مماتي. ممات is translated as *death* or *lifelessness*.<sup>153</sup> The term occurs in the *Qur’ān* (6:162, 17:75, and 45:20).<sup>154</sup> In fact, Lines 7 and 8 mirror the last lines of Chapter 6, Verse 161 through the end of Verse 163 of the *Qur’ān* which reads (the words that correlate with Ms Or.P205 are underlined):

161 قُلْ إِنِّي هَدَانِي رَبِّي إِلَى صِرَاطٍ مُسْتَقِيمٍ دِينًا قِيمًا مِّلَّةَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ حَنِيفًا وَمَا كَانَ مِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ

162 قُلْ إِن صَلَاتِي وَنُسُكِي وَمَحْيَايَ وَمَمَاتِي لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

163 لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ وَبِذَلِكَ أُمِرْتُ وَأَنَا أَوَّلُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ

These Verses are translated as follows:

- 161 Say: “Verily, my Lord  
Hath guided me to  
A Way that is straight, –  
A religion of right, –  
The Path (trod) by Abraham  
The true in faith,  
And he (certainly)  
Joined not gods with God.”
- 162 Say: “Truly, my prayer  
And my service of sacrifice,  
My life and my death,  
Are (all) of God,  
The Cherisher of the Worlds:
- 163 No partner hath He:  
This am I commanded,  
And I am the first

<sup>151</sup> Ibid.

<sup>152</sup> Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English)*, ed. J. Milton Cowan, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Urbana, Illinois: Otto Harrassowitz KG, 1994), 547.

<sup>153</sup> Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, vol. 1, pt. 7 (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1956), 2741.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.

Of those who bow  
To His Will.”<sup>155</sup>

In effect, as illustrated above, Lines 7 and 8 preserve a pericope of the *Qur’ān*.

*Verso, Line 8.* العَالَمِينَ: Defective *alif*. Read: العالمين. For a discussion of the term ‘*ālamīn* as either a dual form referring to the two worlds of humans and *jinn*, or ‘*alamīn* as the plural form of ‘*ālam* (world) (and for the determination of the classes that belong to these worlds), cf. Mahmoud M. Ayoub, *The Qur’an and Its Interpreters*.<sup>156</sup>

*Verso, Line 8.* ثم امرت بفتح: Malczycki reads: ثم يف (تت)ح.<sup>157</sup>

*Verso, Line 9.* القروان: The spelling of *Qur’ān* with a *wāw*. Cf. Ms Or.P365RrS, Line 3, and Ms Or.P518V, Line 16, for normalized spelling, i.e., القرآن.

*Verso, Line 9.* قال الله: Malczycki reads: [الله هو].<sup>158</sup>

*Verso, Line 9.* حـ«ذ»ا: Malczycki reads: جمد.<sup>159</sup>

*Verso, Line 10.* (ا)صل [...]: Malczycki reads: [كل ----].<sup>160</sup>

*Verso, Line 10.* [-----] لم: Malczycki reads: لم بعينه.<sup>161</sup>

*Verso, Line 11.* If it is a parallel construction, the lacuna might read: على ركبتيه following the word كَفِيهِ (cf. Recto, Line 1). This seems correct, as the spacing at the right could accommodate an ‘*alā* and the *kāf* attests to *rakabatīhi*.

<sup>155</sup> ‘Abdullah Yūsuf ‘Alī, *The Holy Qur-an: Text, Translation and Commentary*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., vol. 1 (Beirut: Printing Production, 1965), 338.

<sup>156</sup> Mahmoud M. Ayoub, *The Qur’an and Its Interpreters*, vol. 1 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984), 47.

<sup>157</sup> Malczycki, 150.

<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.



### DOCUMENT 3: MS OR.P365

#### Identification

Date: Late third/ninth century.<sup>162</sup>

Ms Or.P365 is a notable *ḥadīth* specimen, as Ms Or.P365VIS contains a *ḥadīth* commentary on *Sūra al-Nisā'*, Verse 34. Ms Or.P365VIS preserves almost verbatim a portion of the famous *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Hanbal (780-855 C.E./164-241 A.H.) (cf. Comments Section).<sup>163</sup>

Ms Or.P365 is significant for a second reason, as its chain of transmission reaches 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb (743-812/813 C.E.-125-196/197 A.H.) (cf. Ms Or.P518), a famous Egyptian jurist who was the pupil of none other than Mālik b. Anas (c.715-796 C.E./96-179 A.H.), the effective founder of Islamic law.

#### Physical Description

Good quality light brown papyrus 24 x 16.5 cm. Black ink. Remnants of the binding in the form of a string of twisted papyrus bearing a knot attached to the fold are still visible. This papyrus is a codex folio containing four pages. The height of the text is preserved, as the upper and lower margins remain intact. Tentative reading order: Verso Right Side (A) bottom continues on Recto Left Side (B).

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<sup>162</sup> Petra Sijpesteijn (Personal e-mail correspondence (12 February 2008)).

<sup>163</sup> Mark Muehlhaeusler is credited with the identification and reconstruction of the *Musnad* fragment.

**Recto:** Reconstruction of the Recto Right Side yields 12 lines and that of the Recto Left Side yields 13 lines. A margin of 1.7 cm separates the right and left sides. The text on the Right Side is upside down in relation to the text on the Left Side. The left portion of the Left Side is no longer extant. Margins Right Side: almost no margin at the upper end and the lower end is 1.8 cm. Margins Left Side: the upper end is 1 cm and the lower end is 1.7 cm. Although the text evinces breaks and peelings, it is in tolerably good condition.

**Verso:** Verso Right Side yields 14 lines and Verso Left Side yields 13 lines. A margin of 1.7 cm separates the Right and Left Sides. The text on the Right Side is upside down in relation to the text on the Left Side. The right portion of the Right Side is no longer extant. Margins Right Side: the upper end is 1.8 cm and the lower end is 1.2 cm. Margins Left Side: the upper end is 1 cm and the lower end is 1.8 cm. In tolerably good condition.

### Script

The ductus indicates a right leaning *nashkī* script.<sup>164</sup> A number of diacritical marks are employed, i.e., dotted ب, ت, ج, ذ, خ, ف, ق, ن, and ي. The dotting of *qā'* with a dot on top is inconsistent with the dotting of the *fā'*. Grohmann notes that “a certain unsteadiness in dotting the letters Fâ an [sic] Qâf is to be observed not only in Egypt, but also in other countries.”<sup>165</sup> J.v. Karabacek proffers a bipartite schema for the evolution of dotting the *fā'* and *qā'*.<sup>166</sup> Grohmann cautions that in the case of Egypt, all the variants of

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<sup>164</sup> Malczycki, 182.

<sup>165</sup> Grohmann, *World*, 85.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

dotting these two letters are evidenced, indicating that the variants are not contained within strict geographical boundaries.<sup>167</sup>

As opposed to Ms Or.P518, no horizontal dots are placed under *sīn*. However, as in Ms Or.P518, three horizontal dots are placed above *shīn*. Miniature letters are placed under 'ayn, as in Ms Or.P518 and possibly Ms Or.P173R (cf. Description Section for Ms Or.P518 for the function of the miniature letters).

The backwinding final *yā'* is employed, for example, in the preposition *fī* (cf. Verso, Left Side, Line 2), and there is a possible diacritical short vowel marking of *fatha* (cf. Recto Left Side, Line 8).

There are possibly *tashdīd* markings (˘) on Allāh in Lines 7 and 12 of the Recto Right Side. Line 7 is improbable because the light script seems to belong to the preceding line. Line 12 has a blot above the second Allāh where the *shadda* would stand, although this too might belong to the illegible word in the line above. Grohmann notes that the *tashdīd* assumes the form of a hemicycle in the most ancient papyri.<sup>168</sup>

The punctuation mark O which is not a circle, but rather resembles a tear drop is used. Grohmann states that this form of punctuation indicates the close of a longer portion of the text, and it is also used to distinguish various items in accounting.<sup>169</sup> This punctuation is prevalent in the *Jamī'* of 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb (cf. Ms Or.P518).<sup>170</sup> This latter point is significant as Ibn Wahb is mentioned in Recto, Right Side, Lines 1, 6, and 10 of this papyrus (cf. Ms Or.P518 where 'Uqba b. 'Āmir is also cited as a transmitter).

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<sup>167</sup> Ibid.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., 87.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., 92.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid. Cf. 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb, *Le Djāmi' d'Ibn Wahb*, 2 vols., ed. Jean David-Weill (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1939-1948).

Text: Recto Right Side

- 1 حدثنا احمد بن عيسى الـ<تستري> قال حدثنا بن وهب عن بن (لهيعة)
- 2 عن بن هبـ<ير> عن عقبة بن عامر و عبد الله <بـ> بن عمرو بن
- 3 العاص قالوا في القران (خ)مس عشر<ة> <سجدة> {قال} وقال
- 4 رسول الله صلى عليه وسلم في ا<ل>حج سجدتين فمن
- 5 لم يسجدهما (ف)لا يقرأهما (O) [...] حدثنا احـ(م)د قال حدثنا
- 6 عـجـبـالله بن و<هب> (عن) [...] بن (ايوب) عن [...] (فائل) عن
- 7 [...] (قال عن ابيه) ان (ر)سول الله (ص)لى الله عليه
- 8 <وسلم> (قال عن) علم فله <ا>جر(بم)ا عمل [...] عا(م)ل [...] ]
- 9 لا [...] من اجر (العاقل) O حدثنا احـ(م)د قال حدثنا
- 10 [...] (ا)لله بن وهـ(ب) اخبرنا عمرو ان ابا [...] ]
- 11 <السـمـح (حدثه) عن بن (حجيرة عن ابي) هريرة عن رسول
- 12 الله صلى الله عليه وسلم (قـ)ال

Text: Recto Left Side

- 1 [...] ]
- 2 [...] <هـ> [...] اها و<عـ> [...] ]
- 3 [...] <قـ>ال حدثنا [...] كع قال حدث<نا> [...] ]
- 4 [...] <مـ> عن ابيه عن عمر قال [...] ]
- 5 [...] <عـ> [...] ]
- 6 [...] (بن) [...] قال (حدثنا) [...] ]
- 7 [...] <حـ> [...] <عـ> [...] ]
- 8 [...] <بـ>الـ(قـ)را [...] <عـ> على ر(جـ)ل (فـ)لـت
- 9 [...] <الـ> [...] <عـ> صوتك
- 10 [...] وقال حدثنا (عن بن)
- 11 [...] <الـ> [...] <عـ> [...] (قال اذا دخل
- 12 [...] <الـ> [...] <رام> [...] <ني>
- 13 [...] <الـ> [...] <و> [...] <لا> [...] <ت>

Text: Verso Right Side

- 1 [...] <ا> الله [...] ]
- 2 [...] <الحكم> بن ابي العا(ص) [...] ]
- 3 [...] <الـ> [...] لا اننام (قد) حادت الـ [...] ]
- 4 [...] <الـ> قال قلت (بـ)عم قال اعـ [...] ]
- 5 [...] الـيه (فقا) [...] ]
- 6 [...] <فـ> [...] <عـ> [...] ]
- 7 [...] ]
- 8 حـ(د) [...] بن (حداش) <عن> [...] ]
- 9 النبي صلى الله عـلـه و<سـلم>

- 10 الحسـ[-][...] 10  
 11 و[...][...] 11  
 12 [...] 12  
 13 كـ(بـ) (من) [...] 13  
 14 قندم [-]عمـ[...]-ن (عبد) [...] 14

Text: Verso Left Side

- 1 <لـ>انفسهن شيا وان لهن علـ<يكم> [-]ا وان ولكم عليهن  
 2 حقا ان لا <يوطنن فرشـ>كم احد غيركم ولا ياذن في  
 3 <بيوتكم> لا <حد تكرر>هو <نه> فان <خفتكم> نشوزهن فـ<عظوهن>  
 4 واهجروهن في <المضاجع> واـ<ضربوهن ضربا غير مبرح>  
 5 <ولـ>هن <رزقهن>ن و<كسـ>وتهن <بالمعر>و<ف> و<انما اخذتموهن>  
 6 <بامانة الله واستـ>حـ<للتهم فروجهن بكـ>لمة <الله>  
 7 الا ومن كانـ<ت عنده امانة فليؤدها الى من ائتمنه>  
 8 عليها <وبسط يديه فقال الا هل بلغت الا هل بلغت>  
 9 الا <هل بلغت> {قال} <ثم> قال <ليبلغ> الشاهد <الغائب>  
 10 فانه رب مـ<بلغ اسعد> من سـ<امـع> O [...] 10  
 11 قال حدثنا حمار قال قا [...] (حميد) احمر ملع [...] ذا  
 12 الـ[---]ن [...] مـ [...] (عـ) [...] حمو قا(ل) وقال ا [...] 12  
 13 (و)الله لفر(د) بلغوا اقوام «...» كانوا ا(س)عد به من [...] 13

Translation: Recto Right Side

- 1 It was related to us by Aḥmad b. 'Isā al-<Tustarī> said it was related to us by Ibn  
 2 Wahb from Ibn Lahī'a  
 3 from Ibn <Hubayra> from 'Aqba b. 'Āmir and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b.  
 4 al-'Āṣ said: In the Quran are fifteen <prostrations> {he said} and he said,  
 5 the Messenger of God, prayers on him and peace, \said\ on <the> pilgrimage are  
 6 two prostrations and so one  
 7 \who\ did not prostrate the two \prostrations\, so \he\ did not read the two (O) [...] 1  
 8 It was related to us that (Aḥmad) said that it was related to us  
 9 <'Abd Allāh> b. <Wahb> [...] (from) [...] Ibn (Ayyūb) from [...] from  
 10 [...] (said from his father) that the (Messenger) of God, (blessings) of God on him  
 11 <and peace,> (said from) [...] work [...] worker [...]  
 12 no [...] from [...] O It was related to us that Aḥmad said that it was related to us  
 13 <'Abd> Allāh b. (Wahb) it was narrated to us by 'Amr that [...] 1  
 14 [...] from Ibn (Ḥujāra from Abū) Hurayra from the Messenger  
 15 of God, blessings on him and peace, said

Translation: Recto Left Side

- 1 [...]
  - 2 [...]
  - 3 [...] (said) it was related to us [...] said it was related to <us>
  - 4 [...] from his father from 'Umar said
  - 5 [...]
  - 6 [...] Ibn [...] said (it was related to us) [...]
  - 7 [...]
  - 8 [...] by reading [...] from a man (so it is said)
  - 9 [...] your voice
  - 10 [...] and said it was related to us (from Ibn)
  - 11 [...] (said if) entering
  - 12 [...]
  - 13 [...]

Translation: Verso Right Side

- 1 [...] God [...]
- 2 [...] (al-Ḥakam) b. Abī al-(ʿĀṣ) [...]
- 3 [...] said no [...] the [...]
- 4 [...] said it is said yes [...] said [...]
- 5 [...] to him [...]
- 6 [...]
- 7 [...]
- 8 [...] Ibn (Ḥadāsh) <from> [...]
- 9 The Prophet, blessings of God <on him and peace>
- 10 [...]
- 11 and [...] and [...]
- 12 [...]
- 13 [...] (from) [...]
- 14 [...] (ʿAbd) [...]

Translation: Verso Left Side

- 1 They \i.e., females\ <do not> have things of their own and verily they have \rights\ on you \i.e., males\ [...] and verily and as you have \rights\ on them
- 2 The right \of men\ on women is not <to allow> another in your <bed.> They should not allow into
- 3 <your house anyone whom you dislike.> If <you fear> ill-conduct or perverseness on their part, <advise them>
- 4 and desert <\their\ beds> and <hit them in a non painful way.>

- 5 <And provide them with a means of subsistence> and <clothe> them in \all\ fairness and <you took them>  
 6 <in safekeeping \amāna\ for God, so they were permissible for you to have intimate relations with through the word of God \i.e., the marriage vow\.>  
 7 Unless whoever <has amāna, he has to return it to whomever gave>  
 8 it to him \i.e., God\ <And the Prophet said as he opened his hands: “Did I not tell you, did I not tell you,>  
 9 <did I not tell you.”> {Said} <Then> it was said \to whosoever\ witnessed \this speech by the prophet\ <to convey> \it to\ <the people who were absent>  
 10 because \the people who did not hear it\ might fulfill it and be more fortunate than <those who heard it> O [...]  
 11 Said it was related to us Hammār said [...] (Humayd) [...]  
 12 [...] (said) and said [...]  
 13 (and) God (already) \the speech by the prophet\ spread to the people «...» they were (more fortunate) by receiving it \the speech by the prophet\ who [...] (Figure 5 and Figure 6)

### Comments

*Recto, Right Side, Lines 1, 5, and 9.* “Aḥmad b. ‘Isā al-⟨Tustarī⟩”: Perhaps ‘Abd Allāh al-Miṣrī, known as Ibn al-Tustarī (d. 848 C.E./234 A.H.).<sup>171</sup> If this is indeed the Aḥmad b. ‘Isā of the papyrus, his date of death would support the dating of the papyrus to the late third/ninth century. Ibn al-Tustarī is not considered a reliable transmitter.<sup>172</sup> Ibn al-Tustarī heard traditions from the lips of Ḍimām b. Ismā‘īl, Bashār b. Bakr, Azhar b. Sa‘d al-Samīn, *et alia*.<sup>173</sup>

In the context of the *Musnad* (cf. Verso, Left Side), the last transmitter (Aḥmad) in many of the *isnāds* perhaps refers to Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal himself.<sup>174</sup>

*Recto, Right Side, Lines 1, 6, and 10.* “Ibn Wahb”: ‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb b. Muslim al-Fihri al-Qurashī (743-812/813 C.E.-125-196/197 A.H.) (cf. Ms Or.P518) was a

<sup>171</sup> Dhahabī, vol. 1, 449.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

<sup>174</sup> Petra Sijpesteijn (Personal e-mail correspondence (12 February 2008)).

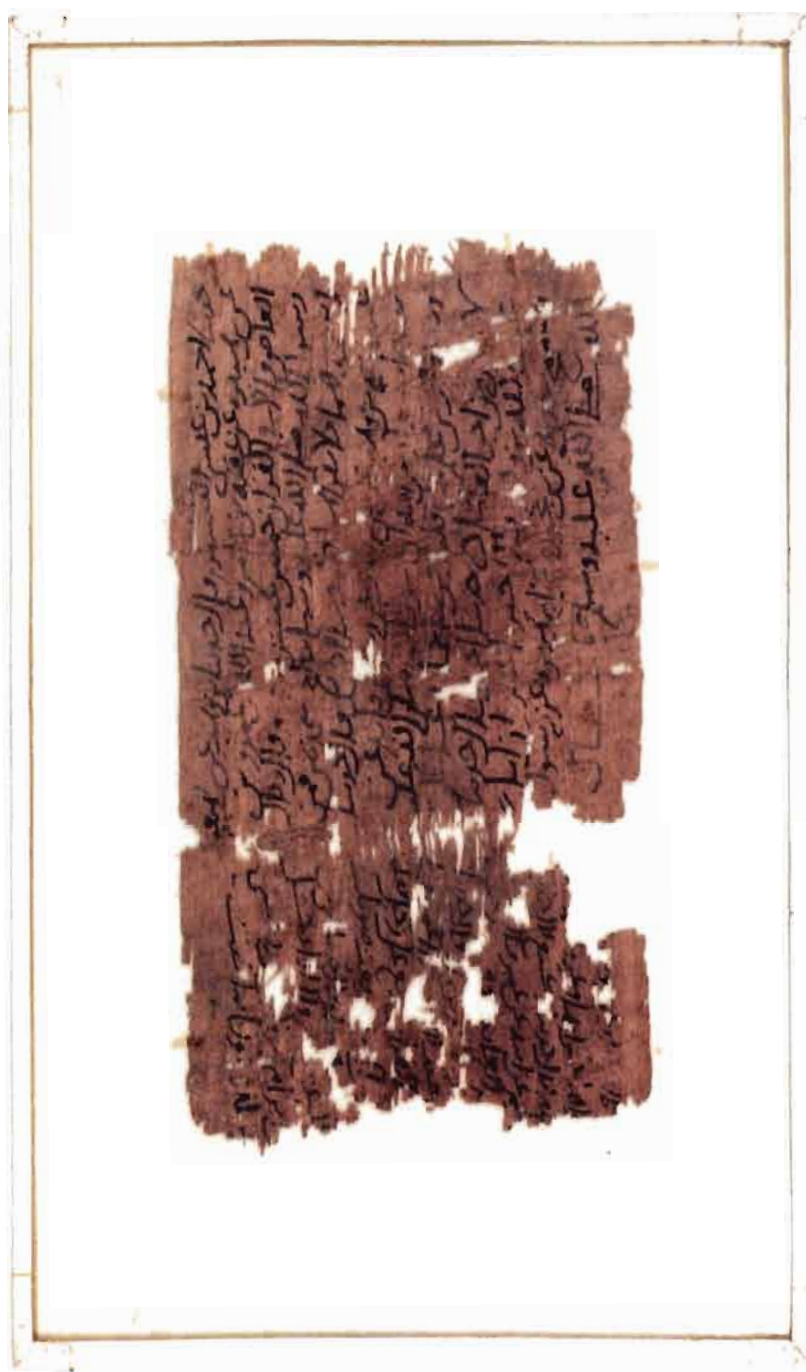


Figure 5. Ms Or.P365R  
 Rare Books Division  
 Special Collections  
 J. Willard Marriott Library  
 University of Utah





Figure 6. Ms Or.P365V  
Rare Books Division  
Special Collections  
J. Willard Marriott Library  
University of Utah

famous Egyptian jurist who was the pupil of Mālik b. Anas (c.715-796 C.E./96-179 A.H.), the founder of Islamic law.<sup>175</sup> Ibn Wahb was the *rāwī* (transmitter) for Ibn Jurayj, Yunis b. Yazīd, Ḥanzala b. Abī Sufyān, ‘Abd Al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād al-Ifriqī, *et alia*.<sup>176</sup> Those who transmitted on Ibn Wahb’s authority include al-Layth b. Sa’d, Sa’īd b. Abī Maryam, ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ, *et alia*.<sup>177</sup> Ibn Wahb composed many works; of these works, the *Jamī‘* alone is extant (cf. Script Section (above), and Script Section for Ms Or.P518).

*Recto, Right Side, Line 1.* “Ibn Lahī’a”: Abū ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ‘Abd Allāh b. Lahī’a b. ‘Uqba b. Lahī’a al-Ḥaḍramī al-Ghāfikī (715/6-790 C.E./97-174 A.H.) was a judge and traditionist in Egypt.<sup>178</sup> Muḥammad b. Sa’d noted that Ibn Lahī’a had a weak memory, and that traditions transmitted on his authority early in his career were more reliable than those transmitted towards the end.<sup>179</sup> Ibn Lahī’a is said to have transmitted from his brother, ‘Isā b. Lahī’a.<sup>180</sup> Ibn Lahī’a knew Yazīd b. Abī Ḥabīb (cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P173R, Line 18, and Comments Section for Ms Or.P518R, Line 9 and Ms Or.P518V, Line 12). Ibn Yūnus in his *History* states that ‘Amr b. al-Hārith, al-Layth b. Sa’d, ‘Uthmān b. Al-Ḥakam al-Judāmī, and Ibn al-Mubārak transmitted on the authority of Ibn Lahī’a.<sup>181</sup> Ibn Lahī’a penned a number of works.<sup>182</sup> Franz Rosenthal

<sup>175</sup> Jean David-Weill, “Ibn Wahb, ‘Abd Allāh b. Wahb b. Muslim al-Fihri al-Qurashī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs, 2008, [http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_SIM-3403](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-3403) (26 February 2008).

<sup>176</sup> Dhahabī, vol. 1, 320.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Franz Rosenthal, “Ibn Lahī’a, ‘Abd Allāh b. Lahī’a b. ‘Uqba,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs, 2008, [http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_SIM-3269](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-3269) (26 February 2008); Ibn Khallikān, vol. 2, 18. An alternative date of death is given as 786 C.E./170 A.H. (Ibid., 18).

<sup>179</sup> Ibn Khallikān, vol. 2, 17.

<sup>180</sup> Rosenthal, n.p.

<sup>181</sup> Op cit., 18.

<sup>182</sup> Op cit., n.p.

states that “[h]e may have been the author of some traditional and historical texts preserved on papyrus.”<sup>183</sup>

*Recto, Right Side, Line 2.* “Tbn <Hubayra>”: Perhaps Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayra (705/6-750 C.E./87-132 A.H.), the governor of the two ‘Irāqs (*Amīr al-‘Irāqayn*).<sup>184</sup>

*Recto, Right Side, Line 2.* “‘Aqba b. ‘Āmir”: Perhaps ‘Aqba b. ‘Āmir al-Jahnī (d. 677 C.E./58 A.H.) who was a Qur’ān reciter and jurist.<sup>185</sup> Cf. Ms Or.P518.

*Recto, Right Side, Lines 2 and 3.* “‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ”: ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ (al-‘Āṣī) (d. 691/2 C.E./72 A.H.) was the son of the famed conqueror of Egypt, ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ (al-‘Āṣī) (cf. Ms Or.P518R, Lines 11 and 12).<sup>186</sup> ‘Ikrima (cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P173R, Line 20) related traditions on the authority of ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣī.<sup>187</sup>

*Recto, Right Side, Line 3.* The first of two *qālas* separated by the coordinating conjunction *wāw* might be a dittograph.

*Recto, Right Side, Line 3.* القرآن: Normalized spelling. Cf. Ms Or.P518V, Line 16, for another case of this normalized spelling. Cf. Ms Or.P205V, Line 9, for irregular, archaic spelling with *wāw*.

*Recto, Right Side, Line 4.* صلى: Malczycki reads: صلاة الله.<sup>188</sup>

*Recto, Right Side, Line 4.* سجدتين: Dual reading: -*tayni* confirmed by Line 5, dual pronoun (*humā*).

*Recto, Right Side, Line 5.* (ف)لا يقرأهما: Malczycki reads: لا يقرأ(ب)هما.<sup>189</sup>

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> Ibn Khallikān, vol. 4, 204 and 212; Dhahabī, vol. 1, 227.

<sup>185</sup> Dhahabī, vol. 1, 73.

<sup>186</sup> Ibn Khallikān, vol. 2, 208.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 207.

<sup>188</sup> Malczycki, 180.

<sup>189</sup> Ibid.

*Recto, Right Side, Line 6.* <عبد> بن و <هب>: Reconstruction based on parallelism located on Line 10.

*Recto, Right Side, Line 6.* عن يحيى بن ايوب: Malczycki reads: (عن) [...] بن (ايوب).<sup>190</sup>

*Recto, Right Side, Line 6.* عن (زياد بن فائد): Malczycki reads: [...] (فائد).<sup>191</sup>

*Recto, Right Side, Line 7.* [...] (قال عن ابيه): Malczycki reads: (سهل بن مـ) عاذ عن.<sup>192</sup>

*Recto, Right Side, Line 7.* (صلى): Malczycki reads: صلاة.<sup>193</sup>

*Recto, Right Side, Line 8.* (قال عن) علم: Malczycki reads: قال من علم علما.<sup>194</sup>

*Recto, Right Side, Line 8.* [...] عمل: Malczycki reads: اجر (عمل به).<sup>195</sup>

*Recto, Right Side, Line 9.* [...] من اجر (العاقل): Malczycki reads: و (لا ينقص) من اجر.<sup>196</sup>

*Recto, Right Side, Line 10.* [...] (الله): Malczycki reads: عبد الله.<sup>197</sup>

*Recto, Right Side, Line 10.* It is significant that the expression *akhbarnā* rather than *ḥadathnā* is employed.

*Recto, Right Side, Line 10.* “Amr”: Cf. Comments Section, Recto, Right Side, Lines 2 and 3 (above), and Comments Section, Recto, Left Side, Line 5 (below).

*Recto, Right Side, Line 11.* “(Abū) Hurayra”: Cf. Ms Or.P443R, Lines 8 and 14 and Comments Section for Ms Or.P173R, Lines 8, 10, and 12. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sakhr al-Dawsī, surnamed Abū Hurayra (“the man with the kitten”) (d. 676/7 C.E./57 A.H.), a

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> Ibid.

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> Ibid.

<sup>197</sup> Ibid.

Companion of the Prophet, was one of the most prolific transmitters of traditions.<sup>198</sup> At times, the Prophet referred to him as Abū Hirr (“the man with the cat”).<sup>199</sup> According to the *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf bi-maʿrifat al-atrāf* of Yūsūf b. al-Zakī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (1256-1341 C.E./654-742 A.H.), Abū Hurayra related 3,343 *ḥadīths*.<sup>200</sup>

*Recto, Right Side, Line 12.* صلى: Malczycki reads: صلاة.<sup>201</sup>

*Recto, Left Side, Line 4.* “Umar”: Cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P173R, Line 18.5.

*Recto, Left Side, Line 5.* [...]العاص: Possibly reads العاص, as the same name appears on the Recto, Right Side, of this papyrus. Cf. Ms Or.P365RrS, Lines 2 and 3, and Ms Or.P518R, Lines 11 and 12, for ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ.

*Verso, Right Side, Line 2.* “(al-Hakam) b. Abī al-(‘Āṣ)”: al-Hakam b. Abī al-‘Āṣ al-Ṣaḥābī died 651 C.E./31 A.H.<sup>202</sup>

*Verso, Right Side, Line 9.* النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم: Reconstruction from standard phrase (cf. Ms Or.P365RrS, Lines 4, 7, 8, and 12; and Ms Or.P518R, Line 9, etc.).

*Verso, Left Side, Line 1.* “Themselves” – feminine plural; “for them” – feminine plural; and “on them” – masculine plural.

*Verso, Left Side, Line 3.* نشوز: The Qur’ānic definition of the noun of action نُشُوز is: “Ill-conduct or perverseness on the part of a husband or wife towards one another.”<sup>203</sup> Cf. the Qur’ānic Verse 4:34. This section of the papyrus is a *ḥadīth* commentary on the

<sup>198</sup> Ibn Khallikān, vol. 1, 570.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid.

<sup>200</sup> G.H.A. Juynboll, “Abū Hurayra,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., eds. Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas and Everett Rowson, 2008, [http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=ei3\\_SIM-0175](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=ei3_SIM-0175) (26 February 2008).

<sup>201</sup> Malczycki, 180.

<sup>202</sup> Dhahabī, vol. 1, 53.

<sup>203</sup> John Penrice, *A Dictionary and Glossary of the Kor-ân, with Copious Grammatical References and Explanations of the Text* (Cambridge: Schoenhof, 1995), 147.

verse from *Sūra al-Nisā*’, which is translated as follows: “Men are in charge of women, because Allah hath made the one of them to excel the other, and because they spend of their property (for the support of women). So good women are the obedient, guarding in secret that which Allah hath guarded. As for those from whom ye fear rebellion, admonish them and banish them to beds apart, and scourge them. Then, if they obey you, seek not a way against them. Lo! Allah is ever High, Exalted, Great.”<sup>204</sup>

*Verso, Left Side, Line 9.* <حمار>: Reconstructed with reference to Line 11.

*Verso, Left Side, Line 10.* O: Punctuation mark separates the *ḥadīth* and the gloss. The commentary includes an *isnād*.

*Verso, Left Side, Line 11.* “Ḥumayd”: Ḥumayd b. Fawāl (d. 759 C.E./142 A.H.) was a Basran *ḥadīth* collector from the generation of Successors.<sup>205</sup> Ḥumayd transmitted *ḥadīth* from Anas b. Mālīk (cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P521R, Line 5, and Comments Section for Ms Or.P173R, Line 6).<sup>206</sup> It is uncertain whether Ḥumayd related from Anas b. Mālīk without having met him, although they were contemporaries in Basra.<sup>207</sup> Additionally, it is not known for certain whether Ḥumayd definitely heard ‘Umar b. al-Khattāb (cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P173, Line 18.5).<sup>208</sup> It is narrated that Ḥumayd had access to the works of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P173R, Lines 16, 20, and 23).<sup>209</sup> The al-Ḥasan mentioned along with Ḥumayd in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (cf. Comments, Verso, Left Side, Lines 1-13 (below)) is perhaps al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Yaḥyā b. Sa‘īd (cf. Ms Or.P173R, Line 28) was also a

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<sup>204</sup> Pickthall, 80.

<sup>205</sup> Spector, n.p.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> Ibid.

<sup>208</sup> Ibid.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

contemporary of Ḥumayd.<sup>210</sup> al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī charged Ḥumayd with *tadlīs*, i.e., tampering with *isnāds*.<sup>211</sup>

*Verso, Left Side, Lines 1-13.* Verso, Left Side, is preserved with minor alterations in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (780-855 C.E./164-241 A.H.), the acclaimed theologian and jurist, and the eponym for the fourth Islamic legal school of thought (*madhhab*). The parallel text of the *Musnad* from which Lines 1-13 have been reconstructed reads:

"لأنفسهن شيئا وإن لهن عليكم ولكم عليهن حقا أن لا يوطنن فرشكم أحدا غيركم ولا ياذن في بيوتكم لأحد  
تكرهونه فإن خفتن نشوزهن فعظوهن واهجروهن في المضاجع واضربوهن ضربا غير مبرح قال حميد قلت للحسن  
ما المبرح قال المؤثر ولهن رزقهن وكسوتهن بالمعروف وإنما اخذتموهن بأمانة الله واستحللتم فروجهن بكلمة الله عز  
وجل ومن كانت عنده أمانة فليؤدها إلى من ائتمنه عليها وبسط يديه فقال ألا هل بلغت ألا هل بلغت ثم  
قال ليلبلغ الشاهد الغائب فإنه رب مبلغ أسعد من سامع قال حميد قال الحسن حين بلغ هذه الكلمة قد والله بلغوا أقواما  
كانوا أسعد به."<sup>212</sup>

Line 1 of the papyrus follows the *Musnad* with three exceptions. First, the papyrus spells شيئا for شيئا as found in the *Musnad*. Secondly, following 'alaykum there are three words; the first perhaps 2 to 3 letters long with the final letter being an *alif*; and the second and third words read وإن. Lastly, an *an* is found in the papyrus between the *wāw* and *lakum*.

Line 2 of the papyrus omits the *alif tanwīn* on أحد. The lines in the *Musnad* that are interpolated between Lines 4 and 5 are a gloss by Ḥumayd on earlier *ḥadīth* lines in the papyrus. These lines read:

قال حميد قلت للحسن ما المبرح قال المؤثر

<sup>210</sup> Ibid.

<sup>211</sup> Ibid.

<sup>212</sup> Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, vol. 5 (Beirut: al-Maktab al-Islāmī lil-Ṭabā'ah wa-al-Nashr, 1969), 73.

This gloss seems to be contained in Line 12 of the papyrus. The *Musnad* further interpolates عز وجل between Lines 6 and 7, which is not found in the papyrus. Line 7 of the papyrus begins the line with الا that is omitted from the *Musnad*. It is unclear whether the words يديه فقال in Line 8 are in the papyrus. The *qāla* on Line 9 of the papyrus is a postulated dittograph based on comparison with the *Musnad*. Line 10 of the papyrus evidences a punctuation mark (O), whereas the *Musnad* divides the text towards the end of Line 13 beginning with به.

The remaining lines of the *Musnad* text constitute a gloss by Humayd on *ḥadīth* found earlier in the papyrus. These lines read:

قال حميد قال الحسن حين بلغ هذه الكلمة قد والله بلغوا اقواما كانوا اسعد به.

The former portion of this gloss ending with *al-kalima* is perhaps preserved in Line 11 of the papyrus. The latter portion of this gloss (beginning with *qad*) is found in Line 13 of the papyrus. The variants in the papyrus include (i) the *lām* before *qad*, (ii) the placing of (و)الله after (د)لق, whereas the *Musnad* situates the *qad* before *wa Allāh*, (iii) the omission in the papyrus of the final *alif* in بلغوا, and (iv) the omission of the *alif tanwīn* on أقوامًا.



### Identification

Date: Third/ninth century.<sup>214</sup>

Ms Or.P443 is a fragment of a *ḥadīth* compiler's notes.<sup>215</sup> The *matns* and portions of the *isnāds* are preserved in the canonical *ḥadīth* compilations (cf. Introduction). The compiler hypothesis is buttressed by the fact that variant strains of *isnāds* (including differing spellings of the names of transmitters in analogous lines of transmission, e.g., Yaḥyā b. 'Ubayd versus Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allah) are preserved one after the other in successive order. Furthermore, analogous *ḥadīths* are grouped together by means of punctuation (i.e., three overlapping circles OOO), indicating the hand of a compiler.

A peculiar feature of the *ḥadīths* in this papyrus is the commencement of each *ḥadīth* with the *basmala*, an element present in neither the canonical collections nor the *ḥadīth al-qudsī*. Perhaps, commensurable with the usage of the *basmala* attested to by the reciters of Basra, Medina, and Syria, the *basmala* functions as a form of punctuation

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<sup>213</sup> Hanan Ahmad is credited with the identification of the *ḥadīth* as canonical and with the reconstruction of Recto, Line 17.

<sup>214</sup> Petra Sijpesteijn (Personal e-mail correspondence (12 February 2008)).

<sup>215</sup> For the hypothesis that this fragment represents a scribal exercise, cf. Malczycki, 178. This hypothesis is supported by Sijpesteijn on the grounds that the beginning of the text (signaled by the *basmala*) is repeated by an unpracticed hand on a piece cut from a missive (Petra Sijpesteijn (Personal e-mail correspondence (12 February 2008))).

“written simply to separate the *surahs*, as well as for its blessing.”<sup>216</sup> In the case of Ms Or.P443, the function of the *basmala* is to separate similar *ḥadīths* within a group.

Verso, Lines 1-4, 11, and 12 are either faded, water damaged, or they may have been deliberately erased, but probably at one time contained a text related to the Recto. This view is corroborated by the fact that Lines 10 and 11 have what appear to be super/sub scripts that may reflect the remnants of the earlier document. Above the palimpsest, the Verso constitutes a private letter. Multispectral Imaging (MSI) or an infrared digital image might assist in the reading of the palimpsest.

Lastly, Ms Or.P443 is of particular significance as both *isnāds* preserve the name of Yūsuf b. ‘Adī, one of Bukhārī’s sources (cf. Comments Section).<sup>217</sup>

### Physical Description

Good quality brown papyrus 20.5 x 12.3 cm. Black ink.

**Recto:** Reconstruction of Recto (B) yields 17 lines. Margins: the right side is 1 cm, the lower end is 3 cm, and the left side is negligible. In tolerably good condition.

**Verso:** Verso (A) yields 12 lines that are largely illegible. Left side is a fragment. Beginning and right side are missing. Margins: the left side is 1.8 cm and the lower end is 3 cm. In mediocre condition.

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<sup>216</sup> Ayoub, vol. 1, 46. In corroboration of the function of the *basmala* as a form of punctuation, a tradition on the authority of Ibn ‘Abbas relates that “...the Apostle of God did not know the separation of one *surah* from another until the words, ‘In the name of God, the All-Merciful, the Compassionate,’ were revealed to him (Shawkani, I, p. 17)” (Ibid.).

<sup>217</sup> Mark Muehlhaeusler is credited with identifying the significance of this personage (Personal e-mail correspondence (26 December 2007)).

## Script

No diacritical points on the Recto. The Recto evidences parallel texts in two hands. First hand, Lines 1-10; second hand, Lines 11-17. The first hand on the Recto is a *mutlaq* script. It is “a curvilinear script or a family of scripts using ligatures and hairlines for joining letters together” and it represents a “common, popular class of scripts.”<sup>218</sup>

The second hand is a *naskhī* script with marked angularity.<sup>219</sup> *Naskhī* refers to copying and transcription.<sup>220</sup> The *naskh* based hand is of “an idiosyncratic (informal, personal) nature.”<sup>221</sup> *Naskhī* is to be differentiated from *al-Naskh* or *Qalam al-Nussākh* proper, which is a book hand belonging to the *muḥaqqaq* family of scripts.<sup>222</sup> According to Grohmann, *al-Naskh* is “presumably the predecessor of our well-known so-called *Naskhī*, a type of hand used in copies and by copyists....”<sup>223</sup>

On the Verso, a third hand in a larger quickly executed script is present. Whereas the Recto has no diacritics, the Verso has light dots in Line 5, marking either a *yā'* or *jīm* (although these may be residual markings resulting from the palimpsest). Malczycki observes that although it seems that two scribes were at work, “there is sufficient reason to believe that a single scribe wrote the text in two scripts.”<sup>224</sup> This conjecture is extendable to the third hand on the Verso as well.

Punctuation includes three overlapping circles OOO (cf. Recto, Line 17).<sup>225</sup> In this case, they appear to separate groups of similar or parallel *ḥadīths* from other groups.

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<sup>218</sup> Gacek, 93.

<sup>219</sup> Malczycki, 171.

<sup>220</sup> Op cit., 140.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., 139-140; Grohmann, *World*, 79.

<sup>223</sup> Grohmann, *World*, 79.

<sup>224</sup> Malczycki, 171.

<sup>225</sup> Although three horizontal circles are recorded by Grohmann as indicating the end of a column or larger section, this type of overlapping punctuation is not recorded by Grohmann, cf. Op cit., 91-93.

The *basmala* is employed to distinguish between similar *ḥadīths* within a group (cf. Identification Section).

Text: Recto

- 1 [...] افعل [...]
  - 2 [...] [...] [---]
  - 3 (لا) [...] [-] (و) له (ال) نصف) و(ا(كثر)
  - 4 (-) [---] الا [-] [...] <...>
- 
- 5 [...] <بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم>
  - 6 حدثنا يوسف بن عدي <قال> حدثنا عبد
  - 7 «...» الرحمن(من) <عن سليمان> (الرازي)
  - 8 ع(ن) (يحيى) <بن> عبيد عن ابيه عن ابي هريرة
  - 9 <قد قال> (رسول) <الله صلى> (ى) <الله> عليه
  - 10 وسلم لا (تقبل صدقة من غلول)
- 
- 11 بسم الله <له> الرحمن الرحيم(حيم)
  - 12 (حدثنا) <يو> (سف) بن عدي عن عبد الرحيم
  - 13 و(سليمان) الرازي عن يحيى بن عبد الله عن
  - 14 (ابيه عن ابي) هريرة ان (ر)سول
  - 15 الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
  - 16 تسليما قال لا (تقب)ل صدقة(ة) (م)ن غلول
  - 17 ولا (صلاة) من (غير الطهور) <...>^ OOO

Text: Verso

- 1 <...>
- 2 <...>
- 3 <...>
- 4 <...>
- 5 [...] <ان شا الله> (احسا) [-] (لا) [...]
- 6 [...]
- 7 [...] (و)حا) [...]
- 8 [...] <عندك وعليك> [...] (على)
- 9 [...] [-] (و سا من) [...] ا [...] <...>^
- 10 [...] <ك الله وحفظك وكتب> [...] <...>^
- 11 <...>^ <...>^
- 12 <...>

Translation: Recto

- 1 [...] do [...]  
 2 [...]  
 3 (no) [...] and to him the (the half) and (more) [...]  
 4 [...] the [--] <...>
- 
- 5 <In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful.>  
 6 It was related to us that Yūsuf b. ‘Adī <said>: It was related to us by ‘Abd  
 7 «...» (al-Raḥman) <from Sulayman> (al-Rāzī)  
 8 from Yaḥyā b. ‘Ubayd from his father from Abū Hurayra  
 9 the (Messenger) <of God, blessings of God> and peace be upon him, <said>:  
 10 “There is no (acceptance of charity from ill-gotten gains).”
- 
- 11 In the name of God, the Beneficent, the (Merciful).  
 12 (It was related to us by) <Yūsuf> b. ‘Adī from ‘Abd al-Raḥīm  
 13 and Sulayman al-Rāzī from Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allah from  
 14 (his father from Abū) Hurayra that the (Messenger)  
 15 of God, blessings of God and peace be upon him,  
 16 said: “There is no (acceptance of charity from) ill-gotten gains  
 17 and no (prayer without ritual cleansing).” ~<...>~ OOO

Translation: Verso

- 1 <...>  
 2 <...>  
 3 <...>  
 4 <...>  
 5 [...] <If God wills it> [...]  
 6 [...]  
 7 [...]  
 8 [...] <with you and upon you> [...] (on)  
 9 [...] (and) [...]  
 10 [...] <God and \God\ protect you and wrote> [...] ~<...>~  
 11 ~<...>~ <...>  
 12 <...> (Figure 7 and Figure 8)

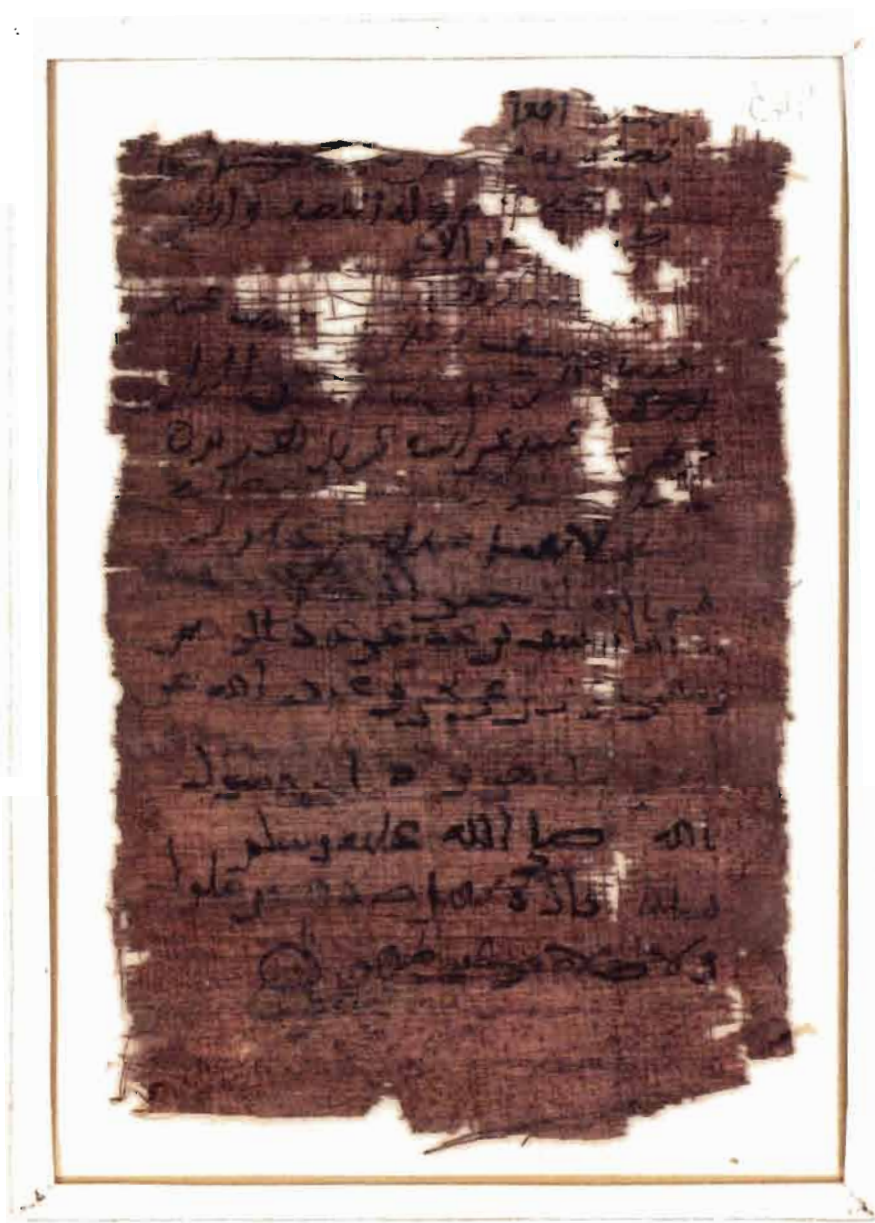


Figure 7. Ms Or.P443R

Rare Books Division  
 Special Collections  
 J. Willard Marriott Library  
 University of Utah

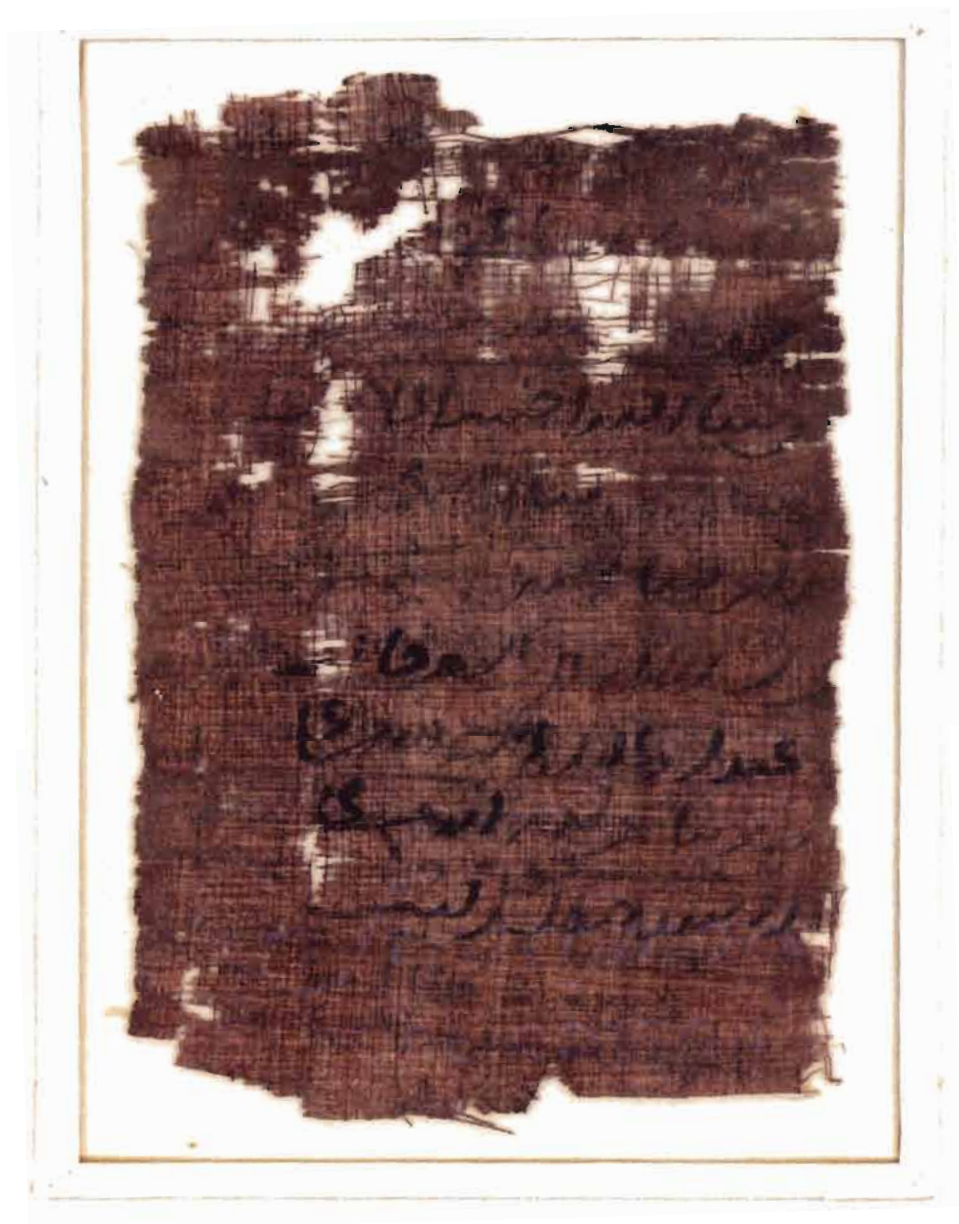


Figure 8. Ms Or.P443V  
Rare Books Division  
Special Collections  
J. Willard Marriott Library  
University of Utah

## Comments

*Recto, Line 1.* افعل: Arabic ablaut allows multiple significations for unmarked افعل, e.g., imperative (افعل), first-person singular indicative (أفعل), etc. Without context, the meaning is indeterminate. Malczycki reads: اجعل.<sup>226</sup>

*Recto, Line 2.* [---][...]: Malczycki reads: يصدق به [.....] قومنا غال.<sup>227</sup>

*Recto, Line 3.* لا [.....] (و له) (لا) [---][...]: Malczycki reads: لا [.....] (و له) (لا) [---][...].<sup>228</sup> الوضوء و الطهارة

*Recto, Line 4.* لك [.... الدنيا] و الآخر (-) [---] لا [---] <...>.<sup>229</sup>

*Recto, between Lines 4 and 5, and Lines 10 and 11.* The lines represent postulated breaks which are not in the text of the papyrus. Given that each *ḥadīth* in this papyrus commences with the *basmala*, then Line 4 would mark the end of a *ḥadīth*, as line 5 begins with a postulated *basmala*. The same is true of Lines 10 and 11.

*Recto, Line 5.* <بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم>: Standard phrase reconstructed from Line 11. A peculiar feature of the *ḥadīths* in this papyrus is that they each commence with the *basmala* (cf. Identification Section).

*Recto, Lines 6 and 12.* “Yūsuf b. ‘Adī”: Yūsuf b. ‘Adī b. Zuraq b. Ismā‘īl was a reliable transmitter of *ḥadīth* who resided in Egypt.<sup>230</sup> Ibn Ḥibbān in his *al-Thiqāt* states that Yūsuf b. ‘Adī died in 837 C.E./223 A.H.<sup>231</sup> Ibn Yūnis states that Yūsuf b. ‘Adī died in the year 652 C.E./32 A.H.<sup>232</sup> Yūsuf b. ‘Adī was the *rāwī* (transmitter) for Sharīk, Abū al-

<sup>226</sup> Malczycki, 173.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid.

<sup>230</sup> Dhahabī, vol. 1, 388.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid.



Aḥwas, *et alia*.<sup>233</sup> Those who related traditions on his authority include Bukhārī (d. 870 C.E./256 A.H.), ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Miqlās, Ya‘qūb al-Fasawī, *et alia*.<sup>234</sup> In spite of the contradictory dates of death, Yūsuf b. ‘Adī was nonetheless a source for Bukhārī.

*Recto, Line 7.* «...»: Malczycki reads: {الله}.<sup>235</sup>

*Recto, Line 7.* <عن>: Alternative reconstruction: <بن>.

*Recto, Line 8.* عبيد: Read: عُبَيْد. Malczycki reads: عبيد الله.<sup>236</sup>

*Recto, Lines 8 and 14.* “Abū Hurayra”: Cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P365RrS, Line 11, and Comments Section for Ms Or.P173R, Lines 8, 10, and 12.

*Recto, Line 12.* (حدثنا): Malczycki reads: فحدثنا.<sup>237</sup>

*Recto, Line 12.* عبد الرحمن: Malczycki reads: عبد الرحمن.<sup>238</sup>

*Recto, Line 13.* “Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh”: Perhaps Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Bukayr (771-845 C.E./155-231 A.H.), a *muḥaddith* who heard the *Muwatta’* from Malik b. Anas (c.715-796 C.E./96-179 A.H.).<sup>239</sup> He also heard from al-Layth, Ibn Wahb (cf. Ms Or.P365RrS, Lines 1, 6, and 10), *et alia*.<sup>240</sup> Those who transmit on the authority of Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh include Bukhārī, Harmala (cf. Ms Or.P518), Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Numayr, *et alia*.<sup>241</sup> al-Nasā’ī considers Yaḥyā b. ‘Abd Allāh a weak transmitter.<sup>242</sup> Malczycki reads: يحيى بن عبيد الله.<sup>243</sup>

<sup>233</sup> Ibid.

<sup>234</sup> Ibid.

<sup>235</sup> Malczycki, 173.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid.

<sup>239</sup> Dhahabī, vol. 1, 398-399.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., 399.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid.

<sup>243</sup> Malczycki, 173.

*Recto, Line 14.* ان: Malczycki reads: قال.<sup>244</sup>

*Recto, Line 17.* *Ṣalāh* is spelled with an *alif* (cf. Ms Or.P365R, Line 2, for Middle Arabic spelling with *wāw*).

*Verso, Line 5.* شا: Read: شاء. The *hamza* tends to be excluded in the language of the papyri.<sup>245</sup>

*Verso, Line 10.* <ك الله وحفظك وكتب>: Reconstruction of standard greeting formula.<sup>246</sup> *Kataba* is generally followed by the name of the author (*fulān*) and the date of composition.

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<sup>244</sup> Ibid.

<sup>245</sup> Grohmann, *World*, 95.

<sup>246</sup> For the characteristics of epistolary formulæ, cf. Petra Sijpesteijn, “Shaping a Muslim State: Papyri Related to a Mid-eighth-century Egyptian Official” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2004), 196-197.

## DOCUMENT 5: MS OR.P518

### Identification

Date: Third/ninth century.

Ms Or.P518 is significant for two reasons. First, preliminary observations indicate that Ms Or.P518 contains a mixture of *tā'rīkh* (on the Recto) and *tafsīr* (on the Verso). The *tafsīr* seems to be on Chapter 2, Verse 210 of the *Qur'ān*.<sup>247</sup> The exegesis of this verse is peculiar, since it attributes anthropomorphic qualities to God, i.e., God is *walking* under the shadow of the clouds.

With regard to *tashbīh* (anthropomorphism), *tafsīr*, and *ḥadīth*, Joseph van Ess states:

The Qur'ān is by intention strongly transcendentalist; it does not, however, avoid anthropological language as a symbolic reference to God's actions and qualities. This was not in the beginning felt as a tension or contradiction. When Islam, however, expanded into the lands of the civilisations of the Ancient World, both transcendentalist and anthropomorphist tendencies were sharpened by the religious ideas prevailing in the new environment. *Ḥadīth*, therefore, contains many anthropomorphist sayings, some of which are obviously exegetical whereas others go far beyond this. Early *tafsīr* works were sometimes so strongly anthropomorphist that they had to be purged in later recensions (cf. e.g., *Muqātil b. Sulaymān*<sup>248</sup>).<sup>249</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Hanan Ahmad is credited with the identification of the Qur'ānic verse for this *tafsīr*.

<sup>248</sup> Abu 'l-Hasan Muqātil b. Sulaymān b. Bashīr al-Azdī al-Khurāsānī al-Balkhī (d. 767 C.E./150 A.H.) was a *Qur'ān* commentator who was considered a weak traditionist and was also charged with "extreme anthropomorphism" (M. Plessner, "Muqātil b. Sulaymān b. Bashīr al-Azdī al-Khurāsānī al-Balkhī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs, 2008, [http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_SIM-5461](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-5461) (26 February 2008)). Muqātil b. Sulaymān composed three extant commentaries on the *Qur'ān* that have been edited, these include: *Tafsīr Muqātil b. Sulaymān* (ed. 'Abd Allāh Mahmūd Shāhāta (5 vols., Cairo, 1979-88)), *Kitāb Tafsīr al-khams mi'at āya min al-Qur'ān al-karīm* (ed. I. Goldfeld (Shfaram, 1980)), and *Al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir fī 'l-Qur'ān al-karīm*, (ed. 'A. M. Shāhāta (Cairo, 1975)) (Ibid.).

The later major *Qur'ān* commentaries mirror the sentiments of Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī (d. 1210 C.E./607 A.H.) whose *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr* advances six arguments addressing the issue of anthropomorphism.<sup>250</sup> al-Rāzī concludes his commentary on 2:210 by stating that "God is not a body occupying a specific locus and therefore coming and going cannot be ascribed to Him."<sup>251</sup>

On the one hand, if Ms Or.P518 is considered an anthropomorphic reading of 2:210, that is, prior to the transcendentalist (*tanzīh*) turn in *tafsīr*,<sup>252</sup> this might indicate a date prior to the mid-eighth century when the doctrine of the Mu'tazilites was officially adopted by the 'Abbasid caliphate. On the other hand, the palaeographic evidence, based on the earliest usage of the miniature letters utilized in this papyrus, suggests a date of the second half of the second/eighth century.<sup>253</sup> Nevertheless, since internal evidence on the basis of the *isnād* indicates that one of the transmitters, namely, Ḥarmala b. 'Imrān, died in the year 858 C.E./243 A.H., the date of the third/ninth century is accordingly employed here.

Ms Or.P518 is significant for a second reason, as it contains a *ḥadīth* (Verso, Lines 5 and 6) that is preserved in the *Musnad* of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal as well as in the *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf bi-ma'rifat al-atrāf* of Yūsuf b. al-Zakī 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Mizzī (see Comments Section).

<sup>249</sup> J. van Ess, "Tashbīh wa-Tanzīh," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, eds. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs, 2008, [http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_COM-1190](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_COM-1190) (26 February 2008). Emphasis added.

<sup>250</sup> Ayoub, vol. 1, 212; Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Rāzī, *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, vols. 5-6 (Beirut: Dar al-Kotob al-Ilmiyah, 2000), 180-186.

<sup>251</sup> Ayoub, vol. 1, 212.

<sup>252</sup> van Ess, n.p.

<sup>253</sup> Abbot, *Studies*, vol. 1, 61.

### Physical Description

Good quality brown papyrus 20 x 9.6 cm. Black ink. A folio from a codex.<sup>254</sup>

**Recto:** Reconstruction of Recto yields 15 lines. In good condition.

**Verso:** Reconstruction of Recto yields 17 lines. In good condition.

### Script

The *naskhī* ductus is similar to that of Ms Or.P173 (e.g., *hr* combination, حرملة). A number of diacritical marks are evidenced, i.e., dotted ب, خ, ذ, ق, ن, and ي. The defective *alif* is employed (cf. Recto, Line 7). Three horizontal dots are placed under *sīn* in proper nouns (cf. Verso, Lines 4 and 7). Three horizontal dots are placed above *shīn* (cf. Ms Or.P365). Grohmann states that “a short slanting dash very frequently used, occurs over the *Sīn*, when the dents of this letter are flattened in a cursive way to a mere horizontal line...Sometimes an undulating line replaces the short dash...or even three dots are placed side by side. It is clear that this practice...used for the dotting of the *Shīn*, is somewhat confusing.”<sup>255</sup>

Miniature letters are placed under ح, ص, and ع to assist in the prevention of misreading the text.<sup>256</sup> In her study of *PERF* No. 665, Abbott notes that although this device of miniatures freed the reader from certain errors, it nonetheless left certain other letters to be determined by context alone, e.g., between *ha* and *kha*.<sup>257</sup> In the case of this papyrus, such a distinction is made clear with the indication of the *kha* with a diacritical dot, as noted above. Abbott maintains that the distinction of letters by means of

<sup>254</sup> Petra Sijpesteijn (Personal e-mail correspondence (12 February 2008)).

<sup>255</sup> Grohmann, *World*, 86-87.

<sup>256</sup> Abbott, *Studies*, vol. 1, 61.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*

miniature letters, initially used to distinguish *ḥā'* and *ʿayn*, was later extended to *ṣād* and *tā'*.<sup>258</sup> It must be noted however, that Ms Or.P518 does not mark the *tā'* with a miniature letter.

Furthermore, as opposed to Abbott's fragment of the *Sīra* that exclusively utilizes the miniature letters for proper nouns of persons and places, this papyrus employs the miniatures in proper nouns (cf. Verso, Line 7), common nouns (cf. Verso, Lines 10 and 12), and verbs (cf. Recto, Line 14).<sup>259</sup> According to Abbott, the earliest usage of the miniature letters is evidenced in the second half of the second/eighth century.<sup>260</sup>

Diacritical short vowel signs, including *fatḥa* (◌َ), *kasra* (◌ِ), and *dhamma* (◌ُ), found in the original are marked as such in the edited text. Grohmann states that "[t]he invention of *vowel signs* (*ḥarakāt*) in the form still used is ascribed to *Khalīl ibn Aḥmad* (d. 170 A.H. 786/87 A.D.). They frequently occur in literary papyri of the second and third centuries of the Hīra, but are sometimes even added in private letters and documents."<sup>261</sup>

Punctuation includes O with a downward radial line which separates sections. The earliest case for this device in the shape of an inverted heart, with or without a vertical line intersecting the middle, in lieu of the circle with or without a dot, is dated to the first half of the third/ninth century.<sup>262</sup>

Certain features of the ductus of Ms Or.P518 and Ms Or.P173 parallel those of the famous and most complete (106 plus folios) extant Arabic papyri of the *ḥadīth* codex of 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb (cf. Ms Or.P365), entitled the *Jāmi'*.<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>258</sup> Ibid.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid.

<sup>260</sup> Ibid.

<sup>261</sup> Grohmann, *World*, 87.

<sup>262</sup> Op cit.

<sup>263</sup> cf. Ibn Wahb.

David-Weill states that three distinct hands were at work in the codex of the *Jāmi'*. The Ibn Wahb papyri also evidence miniature letters under ح, ع, and ص. Whereas Ms Or.P518 utilizes all three of these miniatures, Ms Or.P173 does not employ the miniatures (except perhaps in one case). So, the Ibn Wahb papyri are closer to Ms Or.P518 than Ms Or.P173. Two differences between Ms Or.P518 and Ms Or.P173 include: first, Ms Or.P518 uses vowel markings as opposed to Ms Or.P173 which has but one uncertain case; second, the letters dotted in Ms Or.P518 and Ms Or.P173 are at variance with one another and do not correspond. Nonetheless, the *ħr* combination indicates that Ms Or.P518 and Ms Or.P173 are somehow related.

#### Text: Recto

- 1 [...] بكر و عشيا [...]
- 2 [...] (ا)لشمس والقمر [-] [...]
- 3 [...] ان انه سمع عمر <بن> [-] [...]
- 4 [...] حوج< (و)هم وادبار (هم ب) [-] [...]
- 5 [...] <جلو [-] قال <ا> [-] [...]
- 6 [...] <نس> (جد) ق<ب>ل ان (تص)لي المغرب على [...]----- [...]
- 7 <السجود> O قال <حدثني> حرمة بن عمران عن اسحق بن عبد الله [...] [...]
- 8 تحت الميزان< (ب)بي(ن) الحجر والـ>ميت وقبر< هـ(م) رفا<ت> في ح<د> [...] <رسول>
- 9 الله <صلى> الله عليه وسلم< O قال حرمة بن عمران عن (يزيد) <ابن ابي حبيب> [...] [...]
- 10 [...] <دضا>لت<ها> ولا تخرج زكاتها ولا يمنع من فـ[...] [...]
- 11 كان اذا دخل على عمرو بن العاص وجده متكيا فقال (ا) [...] [...]
- 12 (والا كتبت الى) عمر بن الخطاب بامرك فلم يلقي عمرو (ل) [...] [...]
- 13 عليك [...] <د فاقعد كما يقعدون فاذا (خرجوا) من عندك> [...] [...]
- 14 فدعي له فصار مَحْتًا< اجأ الـ>امير المومنين فقال مَعَاذُ الله< [...] [...]
- 15 فان (فقرأ عليه) ما كتب به قال او ما بينت ذ<لك> [...] [...]

#### Text: Verso

- 1 [...] كل (شي في) [...] [...]
- 2 [...] <وصل> [-] و (حدثني) ا [-] [...] [...]
- 3 [...] <هـ(ذ)ه الاية> [-] [...] [...]
- 4 [...] ووا (ثله بن) الا(سقع م) [...] [...]

- 5 [...] (ال)فاصيلين O قال <حدثني> [-] [...] 5  
 6 [...] صَبَر عليهن فاطمـة <معهـن و(سقاهن وكسـ)ها(ن من) [-] [...] 6  
 7 [...] عن ابن عَدَس < (لـ)يا وز [-] عن الـ(نبي) > هذا <الحد> (يث) [----] [...] 7  
 8 [...] <حدثني> حرمة بن عمران ان (عـ) <علي بن ابي طالب> عـ(م) رجلا حسبي الله 8  
 9 [...] (الكـ)ريم ما شا الله (كـ)ان وما لم يشا لم يكن اشهد ان 9  
 10 [...] سي ومن شر كل (د)ابة هو اخذ بناصـ<يتـ>ها ان ربي على (صـ)ر<ر>(اط) 10  
 11 <مستقيم> [...] [-] سمـ(عـ)ت عـ(قبة) بن عامر يقول رسول الله كل امري [...] 11  
 12 [...] <يز>يد قال ان ابو الخير لا يُخطيه يوم <الا يـ>تصدقَ (فيه) بكعكة 12  
 13 [...] بن المـ(ـ)ي عن ابيه عن جد(ه) قال كـ(نـ)ا في الجا(هـ)لية (نحفظ) [...] 13  
 14 [...] (O) قال حدثني حرمة بن عمران عن <سـ>ليم بن حميد قال سمعتُ 14  
 15 [...] <الجنة> والنار اقبل الـ<هـ> يمشي في ظلال من الغمام 15  
 16 [...] القرآن [-] ا [-] [...] 16  
 17 [...] <ف>(صلى) الـ(لـحـ) [---] [...] 17

### Translation: Recto

- 1 [...] day and night [...] 1  
 2 [...] the sun and the moon [...] 2  
 3 [...] ‘Umar <b.> heard [...] 3  
 4 [...] their <faces> and (their) backs [...] 4  
 5 [...] they were scared [...] said [...] 5  
 6 [...] <you make prostrations> (before) you pray the sunset prayer [...] 6  
 7 <the prostrations> O It was related to me that Ḥarmala b. ‘Imrān said from Ishaq 7  
 b. ‘Abd al-[...] 7  
 8 under the <scales> (between) the stone and the <dead and a grave> (they are) 8  
 <corpses of the dead> in [...] <the Messenger> 8  
 9 of God <praise of> God on him and peace O Ḥarmala b. ‘Imrān said from (Yazīd) 9  
 <b. Abī Ḥabīb> 9  
 10 <the thing she is looking for> and her Zakāt does not need to be paid and prevent 10  
 her from [...] 10  
 11 When he used to enter where ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ was, he used to find him reclining, 11  
 then he told him [...] 11  
 12 and otherwise I will write to ‘Umar b. Khattāb about your issues, so ‘Amr did not 12  
 care [...] 12  
 13 [...] Sit just as they sit, so if they leave from your place [...] 13  
 14 so it was appealed to him, so he became <in need of the> Commander of the 14  
 Faithful and said: “God forbid!” 14  
 15 so in this case (read back to him) what was written, he said: “Did I not make 15  
 <that> clear” [...] 15



Translation: Verso

- 1 [...] everything in [...]
- 2 [...] and it was related to me [...]
- 3 [...] this verse [...]
- 4 and [...] (Ibn) al-Asqa' [...]
- 5 [...] the two partitions O <It was related to me> [...] said [...]
- 6 [...] he had treated them well and <he fed them> and (quenched their thirst and clothed them from) [...]
- 7 [...] from Ibn 'Adas (al)-[...] from the (Prophet) <in> this <*ḥadīth*> [...]
- 8 [...] <it was related to me> Ḥarmala b. 'Imrān that <'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib> (taught a man to say "God the Generous is enough for me"
- 9 [...] whatever God wills, will be and whatever he does not will, will never be. I bear witness that
- 10 [...] and who from the evil of every creature that <he controls> that God on <the straight path>
- 11 [...] (I heard 'Uqba) b. 'Āmir say the Messenger of God every person [...]
- 12 [...] <Yazīd> said that no day passed <without> Abū al-Khayr <giving charity,> (if only) a biscuit
- 13 [...] b. al-[...] from his father from (his) grandfather said (we used to) in (the Days of Ignorance) (preserve) [...]
- 14 [...] (O) Said it was related to me Ḥarmala b. 'Imrān from Sulayman b. Ḥumayd/Ḥamīd said I heard
- 15 [...] <the> heaven and the fire, God came walking under a shade of clouds
- 16 [...] the Qurān [...]
- 17 [...] <so> (he prayed) [...] (Figure 9 and Figure 10)

Comments

*Recto, Line 3.* "Umar <b.>": Cf. Comments, Recto, Line 12 (below).

*Recto, Lines 7 and 9, and Verso, Lines 8 and 14.* "Ḥarmala b. 'Imrān": Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥarmala b. Yaḥyā b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥarmala b. 'Imrān b. Kurād al-Tujībī al-Zumaylī (782/3-858 C.E./166-243 A.H.) was an adherent of al-Shāfi'ī and a traditionist of great merit.<sup>264</sup> He wrote the *Mabsūt* (*Extensive*) and the *Mukhtasir* (*Abridgment*)

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<sup>264</sup> Ibn Khallikān, vol. 1, 369-370.



Figure 9. Ms Or.P518R  
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Figure 10. Ms Or.P518V  
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addressing the subject of traditions.<sup>265</sup> Harmala is cited as an authority in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim b. al-Ḥajjāj (c.821-875 C.E./c.202-261 A.H.).<sup>266</sup> Harmala transmitted on the authority of Ibn Wahb (cf. Ms Or.P365), *et alia*.<sup>267</sup> Cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P443R, Line 13.

*Recto, Line 7.* اسحق: Defective *alif*. Read: اسحاق.

*Recto, Lines 8 and 9.* <رسول> الله <صلى> الله <عليه وسلم>: Reconstruction of standard phrase that continues from the end of Line 8 to the beginning of Line 9.

*Recto, Line 9 and Verso, Line 12.* “(Yazīd) <b. Abī Ḥabīb>”: Cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P173R, Line 18, and Comments Section for Ms Or.P365R, Line 1.

*Recto, Lines 11 and 12.* “‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ”: ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ (al-‘Āṣī) (d. 664 C.E./43 A.H.) was the famous conqueror of Egypt (cf. Ms Or.P365).

*Recto, Line 12.* “‘Umar b. Khattāb”: Cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P173R, Line 18.5.

*Recto, Line 13.* “Sit” – imperative mood.

*Verso, Lines 5 and 6.* This *ḥadīth* (the incipit of which reads: من كان له ثلاث بنات فصبر عليهم) is traced to ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir by Yusūf b. al-Zakī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī (1256-1341 C.E./654-742 A.H.) in his *Tuḥfat al-ashrāf bi-ma’rifat al-atrāf*.<sup>268</sup> ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir is the same authority later cited in Verso, Line 11 (cf. Ms Or.P365RrS, Line 2). Furthermore, this *ḥadīth* is preserved in the *Musnad* of Ahmad b. Ḥanbal (780-855

<sup>265</sup> Ibid., 369.

<sup>266</sup> Ibid.

<sup>267</sup> Dhahabī, vol. 1, 428.

<sup>268</sup> Yusūf b. al-Zakī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, *Fahāris tuḥfat al-ashrāf bi-ma’rifat al-atrāf*, vol. 2 (Beirut: Mu’assasat al-Kutub at-Thaqāfiya, 1990), 502.

C.E./164-241 A.H.).<sup>269</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal also cites ‘Uqba b. ‘Āmir as a transmitter.<sup>270</sup> The *Musnad* reads:

"من كان له ثلاث بنات فصبر عليهن فاطمهن وسقاهن وكساهن من جدته كن له حجابا من النار."<sup>271</sup>

*Verso, Line 6.* “Them”/“Their” – feminine plural.

*Verso, Line 7.* <>: Postulated spacing.

*Verso, Line 7.* “<‘Alī b. Abī Fālib>”: Cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P173R, Line 8.

*Verso, Lines 10 and 11.* <(ص)><(ر)>(اط) <مستقيم>: Reconstructed standard phrase that continues from the end of Line 10 to the beginning of Line 11.

*Verso, Line 11.* “(‘Uqba) b. ‘Āmir”: Cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P365RrS, Line 2.

*Verso, Line 11.* امرى: Read: إمْرِيء. The *hamza* tends to be excluded in the language of the papyri, and only on occasion is it substituted with a non-emphatic *hā’*.<sup>272</sup>

*Verso, Line 12.* ان: Peculiar, perhaps archaic construction with *an*. The *an* should follow Abū al-Khayr or it should be preceded by another *qāla* or *ḥadathnā*. The normalized reading would be: <Yazīd> *qāla Abū al-Khayr qāla/ḥadathnā an la....* Cf. Ms Or.P205V, Lines 5, 7, and 10.

*Verso, Line 14.* <س>ليمن: Defective *alif*.

*Verso, Line 14.* حميد: Read: حُمَيْد or حَمِيد.

*Verso, Line 15.* <الله>: The reconstruction of *hā’* in Allāh is based upon a comparison of the word Allāh in *Verso*, Lines 8, 9, 10, and 11. The reading of <الله> as

<sup>269</sup> Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vol. 4, 154.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid.

<sup>272</sup> Grohmann, *World*, 95.

opposed to the alternative reading of انه is supported by the fact that although the papyrus is damaged where the *hā'* would stand, the papyrus nevertheless evidences residual ink markings of another letter. For a comparison of the usage of final *nūn-hā'* combination of انه, cf. the *rasm* of (د)ابة (Verso, Line 10). Above this line is an example of الله (Verso, Line 10) for direct comparison.

*Verso, Line 16.* القرآن: Normalized spelling. Cf. Ms Or.P365RrS, Line 3, for another case of this normalized spelling. Cf. Ms Or.P205V, Line 9, for irregular, archaic spelling with *wāw*.

## DOCUMENT 6: MS OR.P521

### Identification

Date: Late second/eighth or early third/ninth century.<sup>273</sup>

Ms Or.P521 is representative of a fully developed tradition of prophetic *logia* (*ḥadīth*) that addresses the themes of divorce, temporary marriage, and piety in general.

### Physical Description

Good quality brown papyrus 10.9 x 14 cm. Black ink.

**Recto:** Recto yields 12 lines. In tolerably good condition.

**Verso:** Verso yields 10 lines. In tolerably good condition.

### Script

The angular *naskhī* script<sup>274</sup> seems more archaic than Ms Or.P518 and Ms Or.P173. Petra Sijpesteijn maintains that the palæography indicates a mixture of styles and letter forms that range from *hijāzī* to a much more cursive style.<sup>275</sup> Sijpesteijn further notes that the hands on the Recto and Verso seem to differ.<sup>276</sup> A number of diacritical marks are employed, i.e., dotted ب, ت, ج, ن, and ي. The *yā'* is pointed with two dots, one vertically below the other (cf., Verso, Lines 2 and 3). According to Grohmann, in the

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<sup>273</sup> Malczycki, 168.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>275</sup> Petra Sijpesteijn (Personal e-mail correspondence (12 February 2008)).

<sup>276</sup> Ibid.

first/seventh century, the two dots were placed one below the other either vertically or diagonally.<sup>277</sup> Later the dots were placed side by side, and by the second/eighth century, the two dots were fused together into a line.<sup>278</sup> In the third/ninth century, all three variations were utilized.<sup>279</sup> This particular feature of Ms Or.P521 would substantiate on palæographic grounds a date ranging from the first/seventh century to the third/ninth century.

The vowel of prolongation is often omitted in favor of the defective *alif* (cf. Recto, Line 9: دینر). Recto, Line 4, employs letter extensions. The extended letter is the final *kāf* (ك) of *dhālik* (cf. the Description Section for Ms Or.P205 (for the function of the *dilatable*)).

#### Text: Recto

- 1 وحدثني عن عبد الرحمن بن ابي الحرث عن الحسن بن ذكوان ان داود الـحـنـبـكـي [...] 2
- 2 <و> لا انظر الى من هو فوقني واوصاني بحب المساكين والذنو (منهم) [...] 3
- 3 ان اقول الحق وان كان مرا واوصاني الا تاخذني في الله لومة لائم و [...] 4
- 4 [...] الى ابي (بحر) <على> ذلك [...] 5
- 5 وحدثني عن الوليد بن عباد عن ابان بن ابي عباس عن انس بن ملك [...] 6
- 6 وكان لمنبره ثلثة عتبات (فحمل) كلما [...] 7
- 7 على [...] ان قال احاما [...] 8
- 8 ومن <ازدرى> والديه او ا(خ)هما [...] 9
- 9 الله [...] ت امين قال ابو عينة وحدثني عبد الله بن دينر و [...] 10
- 10 وحدثني عن المثنى بن الصباح عن عمر بن شعيب بن محمد عن <محمد عن> عبـ(د) <الله بن عمرو بن العاص> [...] 11
- 11 <يا> (ر) سول الله الى ابا ولي مال وولد ويريد ابي <ان> يحتاز <مالي> [...] 12
- 12 [...]

<sup>277</sup> Grohmann, *World*, 83.

<sup>278</sup> Ibid.

<sup>279</sup> Ibid.



Text: Verso

- [...] 1  
 [...] بهن 2  
 [...] فان سمي طلاقا [----] حار ما سمي من الطلاق وان <في> [...] 3  
 [...] هما تطليقتين [---] ضي ما سمي وليس(ت) عليها [...] 4  
 [...] الذي <إحتلعتة> وان لم ترجع اليه حتى تحل وان [...] 5  
 [...] المبتوتة ولا [...] يحلان له [...] 6  
 [...] احلمهما كما [-] ان [----] [...] 7  
 [...] (ا)ن يباريها زوجها هل لهن من متعة <او> لا فقال كل ذلك [...] 8  
 [...] (ن) على المتقين 9  
 [...] 10

Translation: Recto

- 1 and it was related to me from ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī al-Ḥarth from al-Ḥasan b.  
 Dhukwān that the Prophet David [...] 2  
 2 <and> I do not look at those above me and he advised me to love the poor and be  
 close to them [...] 3  
 3 to say the truth even if it is bitter, he advised me not to fear anyone in God who  
 reproach and [...] 4  
 4 [...] to Abū (Bahr) <thus> [...] 5  
 5 and it was related to me from al-Walīd b. ‘Abād from Abān b. Abī ‘Abbas from  
 Anas b. Malīk [...] 6  
 6 and there were three steps to his pulpit, (so he carried) whenever [...] 7  
 7 to [...] that he said [...] 8  
 8 and who despises his parents or their siblings (i.e., uncles and aunts) [...] 9  
 9 God [...] Amīn said Abū ‘Ayna and it was related to me by ‘Abd Allah b. Dīnār  
 and [...] 10  
 10 and it was related to me from al-Muthnā b. al-Ṣabāḥ from ‘Umar b. Shu‘yab b.  
 Muḥammad <from Muḥammad> from (‘Abd) <Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ> [...] 11  
 11 <Oh> (Messenger) of God, to a father and I have wealth and I have a son and my  
 father wants to acquire <my wealth> [...] 12  
 12 [...]

Translation: Verso

- 1 [...] 2  
 2 [...] with them 3  
 3 [...] if he utters the words “divorce” [...] that which is not called divorce and that  
 <in> [...] 4  
 4 [...] the two pronouncements of divorce [...] that which is not called and (there is  
 nothing) on her [...]

- 5 [...] <the man whom she divorced> even if she does not return to him until she is permissible and that [...]  
 6 [...] and no [...] both women are permissible for him  
 7 [...] the most tolerant of them [...]  
 8 [...] if her husband absolves responsibility for them from temporary marriage <or> not so it is said all that  
 9 [...] on the people that fear God  
 10 [...] (Figure 11 and Figure 12)

### Comments

*Recto, Line 1.* وحدثنى عن عبد الرحمن بن ابي الحرث: Malczycki reads: حدثني عبد الرحمن<sup>280</sup> بن الحرث

*Recto, Line 1.* “‘Abd al-Raḥman b. Abī al-Ḥarth”: If al-Ḥarth is read as employing a defective *alif*, then al-Ḥarth might read al-Ḥārith. In this case, al-Ḥarth is perhaps ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām.<sup>281</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith was the *rāwī* (transmitter) for his father and ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī, Ḥafṣa, *et alia*.<sup>282</sup> Those who transmitted on the authority of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith include his son, Abū Bakr b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān (one of the seven jurists), and al-Sha‘bī, Abū Qilāba, *et alia*.<sup>283</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith died before Mu‘āwiya (d. 680 C.E./60 A.H.).<sup>284</sup>

*Recto, Line 2.* [...] واوصاني بحب المساكين والدنو (منهم) Malczycki reads: اوصاى (يجب) المسكين والد (سهم)<sup>285</sup>

*Recto, Line 3.* من {او} اوصاى الا ياخذ (من) مرا واوصاني الا تاخذني في Malczycki reads: من {او} اوصاى الا ياخذ (من) مرا واوصاني الا تاخذني في<sup>286</sup>

<sup>280</sup> Malczycki, 165.

<sup>281</sup> Dhahabī, vol. 1, 117.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid.

<sup>284</sup> Ibid.

<sup>285</sup> Malczycki, 165.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

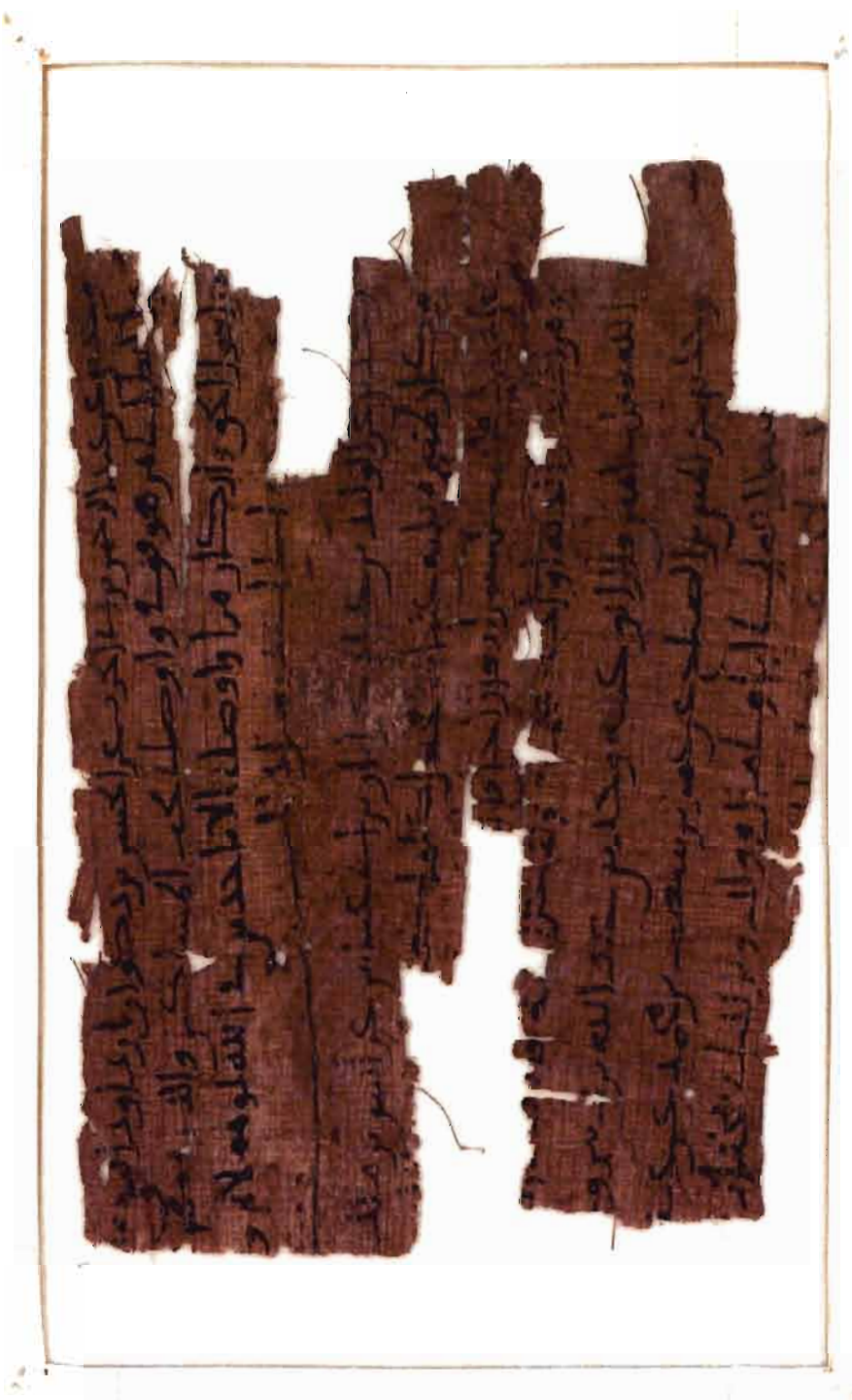


Figure 11. Ms Or.P521R  
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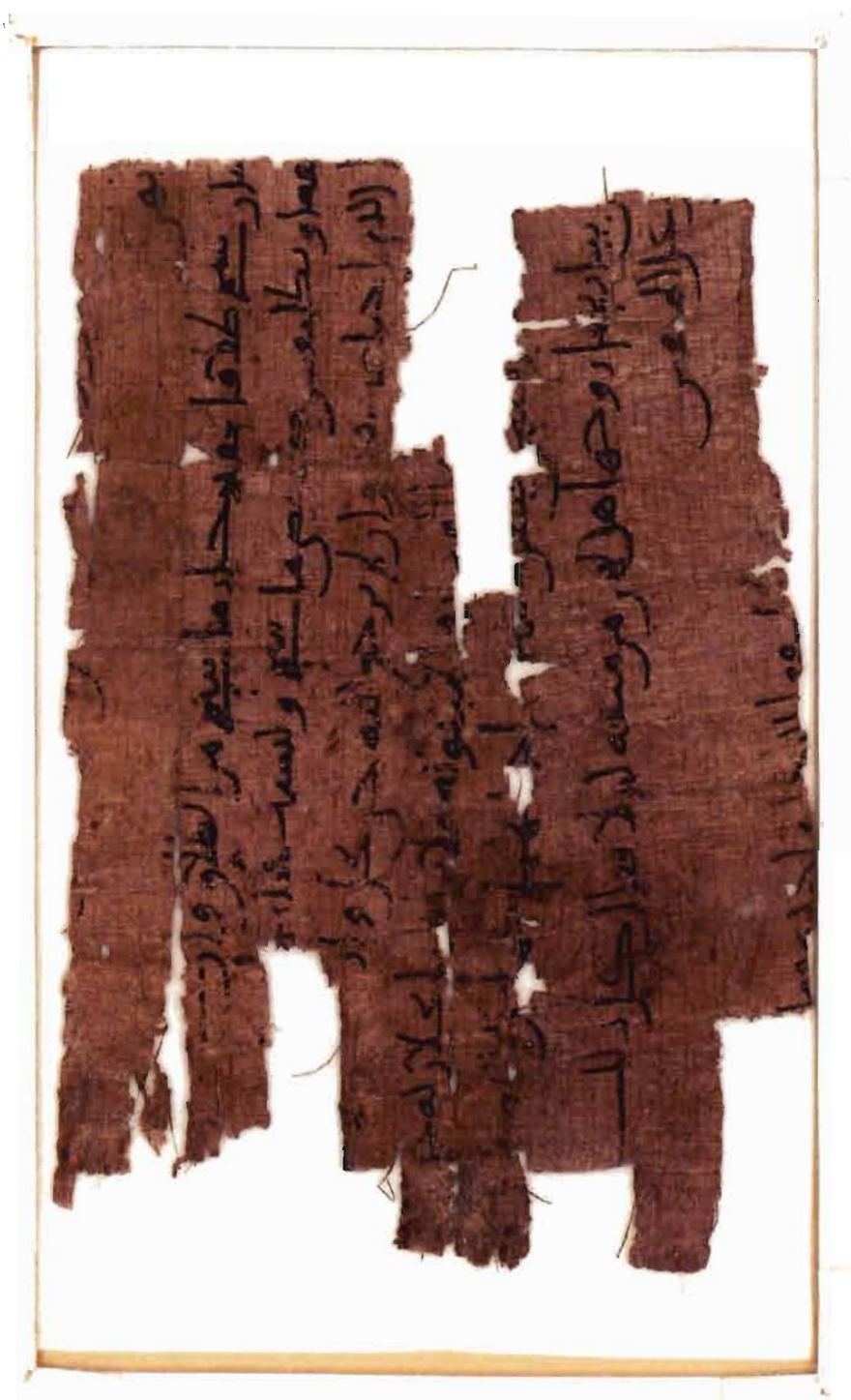


Figure 12. Ms Or.P521V  
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*Recto, Line 4.* “Abū (Baḥr)”: Perhaps al-Aḥnaf b. Qays (d. 686-7 C.E./67 A.H.), a contemporary of the Prophet.<sup>287</sup> al-Aḥnaf was considered a Successor since he did not serve with the Prophet.<sup>288</sup> al-Aḥnaf was given the *kunya* (surname) of Abū Baḥr after his son, Baḥr.<sup>289</sup> al-Aḥnaf transmitted traditions from ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, and ‘Alī.<sup>290</sup> Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P173R, Lines 16, 20, and 23) transmitted on the authority of al-Aḥnaf.<sup>291</sup>

*Recto, Line 4.* ملك: Defective *alif*. Read: مالك.

*Recto, Line 4.* “Anas b. Malik”: Abū Ḥamza Anas b. Mālik b. al-Naḍr (d. 711-2 C.E./93 A.H.) was a prominent Companion of the Prophet.<sup>292</sup> It is narrated that Anas b. Mālik was the Prophet’s servant since the age of ten.<sup>293</sup> Anas b. Mālik related a large amount of traditions culled from the lips of the Prophet himself, or from the Prophet’s Companions, e.g., Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, *et alia*.<sup>294</sup>

*Recto, Line 5.* الوليد بن عباس و ابا و: Malczycki reads: الوليد بن عباد عن ابا بن ابي عباس.<sup>295</sup>

*Recto, Line 6.* [...] [--] كلما (فحمل) عتبات: Malczycki reads: عتاب ه يجعل كلمات.<sup>296</sup>

*Recto, Line 7 and Verso, Line 9.* على: Without context, the signification of the preposition is indeterminate.

*Recto, Line 8.* ومن <ازدری> والديه: Malczycki reads: من انسب والده.<sup>297</sup>

<sup>287</sup> Ibn Khallikān, vol. 1, 635.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid., 641.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid., 635.

<sup>291</sup> Ibid.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid., vol. 2, 587.

<sup>293</sup> Ibid., 588.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid.

<sup>295</sup> Malczycki, 165.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid.

<sup>297</sup> Ibid.

*Recto, Line 9.* [---]ت: Malczycki reads: وضت.<sup>298</sup>

*Recto, Line 9.* ابو عينة: Malczycki reads: Abū 'Utba.<sup>299</sup>

*Recto, Line 9.* دينار: Defective *alif*. Read: دينار. Malczycki reads: عباس.<sup>300</sup>

*Recto, Line 9.* “‘Abd Allah b. Dīnār”: ‘Abd Allāh b. Dīnār (d. 744 C.E./127 A.H.) heard Ibn ‘Umar, Anas b. Mālik, Sulaymān b. Yasār, Abū Ṣālih al-Samān, *et alia*.<sup>301</sup> Sha‘ba, Mālik, Sufyān al-Thurī, *et alia* transmitted from ‘Abd Allāh b. Dīnār, who was considered a reliable traditionist.<sup>302</sup>

*Recto, Line 10.* عمر: The section on “شعيب بن عمرو” in the monumental *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī ‘asmā’ al-rijāl* by Yusūf b. al-Zakī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, reads عمرو.<sup>303</sup> Cf. ‘Umar/‘Amr distinction with proper names preserved in Nabataean inscriptions.<sup>304</sup> Malczycki reads: عمرو.<sup>305</sup>

*Recto, Line 10.* <محمد عن>: Reconstructed by inference from the genealogy provided by al-Mizzī.<sup>306</sup>

*Recto, Line 10.* “‘Umar b. Shu‘yab b. Muḥammad”: ‘Umar b. Shu‘yab b. Muḥammad (d. 736 C.E./118 A.H.) transmitted from a number of authorities, among whom include Sa‘īd b. al-Musayyib, Sulaymān b. Yasār, *et alia*.<sup>307</sup> Those who

<sup>298</sup> Ibid.

<sup>299</sup> Ibid., 167.

<sup>300</sup> Ibid., 165.

<sup>301</sup> Dhahabī, vol. 1, 191.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

<sup>303</sup> Yusūf b. al-Zakī ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl fī ‘asmā’ al-rijāl*, vol. 22 (Beirut: Muassasat al-Risalah, 1980-1992), 64-75.

<sup>304</sup> Grohmann, *World*, 88-89.

<sup>305</sup> Malczycki, 165.

<sup>306</sup> al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb*, 64-75.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid.

transmitted from ‘Umar b. Shu‘yab b. Muḥammad include Ibrāhīm b. Yazīd al-Khūrī, ‘Attā b. Abī Rabāh, *et alia*.<sup>308</sup>

*Recto, Line 10.* <الله بن عمرو بن العاص>: Reconstructed from al-Mizzī.<sup>309</sup>

*Recto, Line 10.* “(‘Abd) <Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ>”: Cf. Comments Section for Ms Or.P365RrS, Lines 2 and 3.

*Recto, Line 11.* [...] <مالی> یحتاز <ان> ویرید ابی <یا> (ر)سول الله الى ابا ولي مال وولد ویرید ابی <ان> یحتاز <مالی> [...]:  
Malczycki reads: للصای ابا و اما و ولد و لذلك یحتاز.<sup>310</sup>

*Verso, Line 2.* “With them” – feminine plural.

*Verso, Line 3.* [----] حار: Malczycki reads: عقد حد.<sup>311</sup>

*Verso, Line 4.* [...] هما تطليقتين [...] حضي ما: Malczycki reads: [---] حص.<sup>312</sup>

*Verso, Line 5.* تحل: Malczycki reads: {ا} تحر.<sup>313</sup>

*Verso, Line 6.* المبتوتة به ولا: Malczycki reads: المبتوتة به ولا.<sup>314</sup>

*Verso, Line 6.* له [...] [---]: له: Malczycki reads: له عـ.<sup>315</sup>

*Verso, Line 7.* “Of them” – feminine dual.

*Verso, Line 8.* “For them” – feminine plural.

*Verso, Line 8.* متعة: *Mut‘a*: “temporary marriage under strict conditions, allowed in the early part of Islam, but later cancelled.”<sup>316</sup>

*Verso, Line 9.* المتعتين: Malczycki reads: (المتعتين).<sup>317</sup>

<sup>308</sup> Ibid.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid.

<sup>310</sup> Malczycki, 165.

<sup>311</sup> Ibid.

<sup>312</sup> Ibid.

<sup>313</sup> Ibid.

<sup>314</sup> Ibid.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid.

<sup>316</sup> Ibn Anas, 433.

<sup>317</sup> Op cit.

## CONCLUSION

The skepticism generated with regard to the early Islamic historical tradition has been said to derive primarily from the very nature of the source material itself. The contemporary discipline has been bifurcated into the predominant epistemic-based historiographical schools of descriptivists and revisionists.

Descriptive history, on the one hand, seeks to account for the historical narrative structure bequeathed by the venerable tradition of Islamic scholarship.<sup>318</sup> On the other hand, the central task of revisionary history is to generate an optimal historical narrative structure. The results of revisionary history continue to be of import in the discipline. Given the methodological rigour and vigorous rhetorical strategy of the revisionists, in addition to the power of their particular conceptual schemas, the groundbreaking works of the revisionist school remain forces to be reckoned with and continue to be of substantial historical utility. But the last quality can only be attributed to them because there is another brand of history that requires no validation at all beyond that of historical inquiry in general. Revisionary history is in effect the handmaiden of descriptive history. No historian has ever been, for all intents and purposes, solely a descriptivist or a revisionist.

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<sup>318</sup> Strawson's observations *vis-à-vis* metaphysics are cogent to the contemporary field of classical Islamic history, therefore the following exposition follows Strawson (Strawson, 9).



In light of these considerations, the codicological method which incorporates both theory and practice has been advanced. As demonstrated, the codicological approach is not theory and practice in theory alone. Rather, the codicological approach is a strictly documentary-based approach that is not concerned with truth-value, nor is it restricted to questions of origins. Utilizing a diachronic framework, the codicological method seeks to analyze texts as *artifacts* and *processes* in time perspective.

The lack of consensus with respect to the corroboration of the early Islamic historiographical tradition is a formidable impediment to the furtherance of the historical discipline.<sup>319</sup> Nonetheless, this state of affairs need not be detrimental since vast amounts of primary documentary evidence in the form of the Arabic literary papyri have not been accessed nor accounted for by the majority of practicing historians.<sup>320</sup>

The publication of the present group of papyri is directed to this end, as a contribution to the understanding of the development of the early Islamic tradition. Lastly, this study illustrates the fact that the judicious handling of primary source materials, the cornerstone of textual criticism, is indispensable with regard to historical reconstruction.

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<sup>319</sup> Hoyland, 410-411.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid.

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